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This manual attempts to "present the basic information that the teacher-leader must know for an inter-ethnic classroom." It is the author's thesis that "the most urgent of all educational challenges is not curriculum or instruction. It is the challenge of changing sociocultural relations, while simultaneously improving curriculum and instruction." Therefore, those differences in cultural values which affect education are emphasized. Chapters 1-9 present a theory of educational anthropology as it may be applied to cultures found in the United States. Chapters 10-24 present educational anthropology as an applied science, consider ethnic variables (domains of cognition versus affect versus psychomotion, communication, timing, space, social organization, ethnics, and causality), delimit educational problems caused by ethnic differences, discuss cross-cultural adaptation of the elements of education, and examine educational variables (sociological environment, teaching method, curricular subjects, and subject examples). Chapters 25-31 consist of sample applications of educational anthropology to six Southwestern cultures (Mexican-American, Negro, American Indian, Navajo, Pueblo, and Yankee). A summary, a 161-item bibliography, and an index comprise the remaining three chapters. (SG)

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"ETHNO-PEDAGOGY":

A MANUAL IN CULTURAL SENSITIVITY, WITH TECHNIQUES FOR IMPROVING CROSS-CULTURAL TEACHING BY FITTING ETHNIC PATTERNS

by Henry G. Burger, Ph.D.

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SOUTHWESTERN COOPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY, INC.
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FOREWORD

Too often teachers in classrooms have either accepted timeworn assumptions about the effects of cultural differences represented, or they have seemed to be completely unaware of any special situation created. Teachers must first of all be sensitive to existing cultural differences, then they should have at their command strategies and methods by which they can maximize their teaching effectiveness in the particular situation.

This particular manual treats both aspects of the problem in sufficient detail to be most helpful to the average teacher. Clues are discussed which will aid the teacher in recognizing even the more subtle differences. Suggestions for making adaptations should provide teachers with realistic, practical methods of dealing with cultural differences noted.

The author has done an excellent job both of identifying the cultural difference factors and in dealing with them. The manual is recommended for the review of all teachers, but most especially those teaching in culturally variant communities.

Paul V. Petty
Director

Albuquerque
June 1968

FOREWORD

This manual on cultural sensitivity, prepared by SWCEL anthropologist Dr. Henry G. Burger, represents a major facet in the development of the Oral Language Program.

Every effort--literature study, visual observations, interviews, standardized tests--has been made to determine the characteristics of the target populations being served. The Laboratory's efforts of collaboration and cooperation with the participating school districts are designed as sincere, all-out attempts to diagnose learning difficulties and make prescriptions for reducing or eliminating them.

The anthropologist helps us recognize our shortcomings in relating to culturally different groups. The perspective provided in this manual should be considered as a check on reality.

When we compound the problems of poverty with geographic isolation, inadequate pre-service and in-service education of teachers, irrelevant curricular materials, minority group problems, problems of bilingualism, large families and little individual attention and communication within the family, and few current opportunities to change or escape from the environment, then we are cognizant of the challenges confronting us.

Hopefully, this manual will offer insights to help us meet our challenges. Our task is to serve you and your classes. Call upon us when we can be helpful.

James L. Olivero
Director-Elect

FOREWORD

This volume represents an important contribution to our Laboratory program which emphasizes the development of culturally-relevant educational materials and programs for ethnic minority group children. It inaugurates a concerted effort to apply ethnology, the "science of peoples and their culture," to the education of ethnic group youngsters. Essentially the question is, "How can an understanding of cultural factors contribute to better education for these children?"

Dr. Burger grapples with this problem and postulates some processes and procedures that can be experimentally investigated. Suggested improvements point to the necessity of taking into account and emphasizing the ethnic traditions of the various ethnic groups--Hispanic, Negro, Navajo, Pueblo, and other Amerindian and Anglo pupils. An indication of the import that this Laboratory attaches to the "culture in education" effort is that of all the 20 regional educational laboratories only SWCEL retains a full-time anthropologist of any kind on its staff.

The volume raises questions concerning the relationships between anthropology and the other social sciences, particularly psychology. Certainly, understanding the relations between anthropology and psychology are important, not merely for purposes of professional structuring, but also for the more important consequence of having an impact upon educational practices. All scientists would agree that the human personality does enter into all of man's social and cultural activity. However, anthropologists and psychologists have differing views of culture and personality.

It generally has been true that psychologists begin by taking their own culture for granted, assuming uniformity, and then studying behavior within this framework. On the other hand, there is the general tendency for anthropologists to take personality, in the broadest sense, for granted, as if it were uniform within each culture and to study the diverse cultures upon which it rests. Each science assumes it can advance knowledge by treating the other variables as constants, while realizing that such constancy is not actual. It is the purpose of this Laboratory to put together the best of these two and other sciences for the educational betterment of the ethnic youngsters of our region.

In this union of sciences, we look toward investigating how various instructional programs and strategies can be improved by taking cognizance of the cultural heritage and milieu of the youngsters we hope to reach. For example, we will be examining the questions of what kinds of reinforcement strategies provide incentives to children of various ethnic backgrounds; we will examine what cultural factors influence learning in various curriculum areas and on various kinds of instructional machines; we will explore ways to improve the teaching of English as a second dialect and the development of certain cognitive skills by taking into account cultural information; we will look at ways to help the teacher accelerate classroom learning of ethnic group youngsters; and we will investigate what can be done to sustain learning (retention) after experimental programs are ended.

One approach being considered to accomplish the latter point is to saturate a community with a variety of programs, culturally based, that brings the school and family and community into closer cooperation.

It is expected that this manual will stimulate the generation of other ideas and the development of new programs. Immediately, a bridge has been created between sciences and a step taken toward the goal of "education within and for the cultural context." In the longer run, this manual and others being produced by our Laboratory point to the exciting opportunity and common goal of the interdisciplinary team of researchers, curriculum developers and school people who are concerned with providing enriched educational experiences for our region's ethnic group minority children.

Paul G. Liberty, Jr.
Assistant Director, Program*

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* /Promoted in July 1968 to SWCEL Deputy Director./

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Some of the ideas herein on how educational laboratories should relate to the social sciences were first expressed when Professor Edward T. Hall of Northwestern University consulted with the Laboratory in March 1968.

This manual was aided in some way or other by many staffers of Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc. Mrs. Ida S. Carrillo, SWCEL teacher of English as a second language, kindly advised us of the number of publications existing on the problem of ethnic education, and especially aided in the chapters concerning Spanish Americans.

Dr. Richard Thiel suggested sources on sociology and ethnic minorities. For many other behavioral-science ideas, I am indebted to our Laboratory's professional staff, especially to Drs. Robert T. Reeback, Malcolm Garber, John Seaberg, Messrs. Willard P. Bass, Guy A. Watson, and Kenneth E. Lawson.

For its comments and suggestions, I thank the SWCEL publications committee, consisting of Dr. Paul G. Liberty and Messrs. Willard P. Bass and Ron Hamm.

The photo of students massed in a rectangular classroom was furnished by the National Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities. The Amerindian art was located by SWCEL Bureau of Indian Affairs coordinator Charles S. Owens, being produced by Fred Bowannie, Jr., of Zuni, New Mexico High School (teacher, Mrs. Susan Anderson).

Mrs. Nancy Katz Cushnie was editorial coordinator and provided library searches. Secretarial services were provided by Mrs. Helen Kuiken, Mrs. Lydia W. Cordova, Judith E. Taylor, Judy Hill, Mrs. Helen McGruder, Mrs. Ann Anderson and Mrs. Judith Jojola, under the supervision of Mrs. Sylvia Saul.

The problem of cultural sensitivity is so sensitive that some readers will undoubtedly believe we are unfaily making generalizations or stereotypes about some ethnic group, and/or that we prefer one culture over another. The author can only assert that he is dedicated to equality among different ethnic groups in values and actions ("cultural relativism").

The educational laboratory has been established for many reasons. But in the case of Anthropology, I believe that one reason is the failure of our discipline heretofore to devote sufficient effort to making itself applicable to real-life problems. A year's experience in Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory has convinced me that it is succeeding in this respect. I, therefore, owe primary thanks to the Laboratory and the Laboratory system for encouraging codifications such as the present one is intended to be.

H. G. B.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Charles Darwin once remarked that the proof of discovery in a (uni-cultural) monograph was its republication in another language. Perhaps the equivalent for a treatise dealing with multi-cultural relationships, as does this manual, is its re-edited publication. If so, then we are most grateful to those readers of the first, limited edition just two months ago who have requested its wider dissemination.

Comments from colleagues and practitioners have now enabled the making of improvments and clarifications on almost half the pages. I am especially indebted to Dr. Olivero for his detailed comments. The principal findings seem to remain tenable.

H. G. B.

Albuquerque, August 1968

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CHAPTER I

THE NEED FOR APPLIED EDUCATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY

There must be several preconditions to train a group in any subject. The need must exist, the want, or perception of need, must exist, and the material and personnel must be provided.

Applied educational anthropology now is working on the second of these milestones. There is vast ignorance of the nature and extent of ethnic differences in the United States. (We shall detail this matter in the chapter on the recent trend away from the "melting pot" belief.) A few leaders are beginning to see the relevance of social science theory; a smaller number, the relevance of social science engineering to education. The merest trickle of materials for applied educational anthropology now is appearing. It is hoped that this manual will stand as one of those materials.

To document this need for applied educational anthropology, let us examine some evidence about the Anglo's knowledge of cultural diversity. To identify teacher awareness of sociocultural differences, Horacio Ulibarri and Miles V. Zintz developed a questionnaire asking teachers to distinguish among Anglo, Spanish American, and Amerindian peoples on each of 20 categories, believed by the authors to differentiate the three cultures. The 20 categories included items on future or past time orientation, whether or not competition was favored, etc.

Coefficients of concordance were found between .40 and .67 indicating quite low agreement between teachers on the categories. The authors concluded "that teachers, in general, are not sensitive to sociocultural differences of Indian, Spanish American and Anglo children" (Zintz 1957-1960:106). In addition, while teachers were aware of some rather obvious differences in language, customs, and experience backgrounds, they did not recognize the underlying value conflict (Zintz 1963:77). Cultural sensitivity, can, however be taught. An attempt at teaching this was made by the College of Education at the University of New Mexico, which offered a four-week workshop in bicultural education in 1959. At the conclusion, the teachers were retested, and only four (rather than the 11 previously noted) of the 20 categories were now found to reflect ignorance of ethnic differences (*ibid*., p. 109).

Social Science as a Yankee Underdevelopment

The level at which a problem is perceived determines the level of science with which it is treated. If a problem is conceptualized as individualistic, such as why Dick does better than James, then the appropriate discipline is psychology. If the problem is seen as inter-individual, the "medicine" is social psychology. If class, it is treated as sociology. And if cultural or inter-ethnic, then it is anthropology, and more especially an ethnic-difference subdiscipline called cultural anthropology, or ethnology.

The ignorance found among those teachers is not a trait blamable only on education but pervades Anglo life. An observer from Mars would find the United States skews its activities. This prejudging applies not only to layman's activities but also to the allegedly pure world of science. The so-called natural sciences are lavished with attention. But a gap appears as we try to correlate to social science. Let us contrast the social-level sciences with those subsocial. [The latter would include the inanimate (such as geology), biology, and individualistic (not social) psychology./ Theory is quite inadequate; technology is totally inadequate. An entire range of disciplines remains to emerge. Nor does the traditional Yankee preference for subsocial science help close this growing gap. Indeed, in a typical fiscal year 1966, the United States Government obligated science research funds as follows:

Type of Science	Basic Research	Applied Research
Social Sciences	2.1%	2.9%
Subsocial Sciences	97.9%	97.1%
	100.0%	100.0%

(Source: U. S. HEW 1967:160).

Even if we limit our discussion to the behavioral sciences, neglecting the United State's preoccupations with the physical "darlings" ranging from electric paper towel dispensers to probes of outer space, we find a preoccupation with those behavioral activities favoring individualism rather than society. This fact is seen in many ways, for example, in the respective magnitude of those disciplines in the latest United States National Science Foundation Report (1968) in which there are listed 19,027 psychologists as opposed to 919 anthropologists. The subtle effects of this disproportion are seen everywhere. For example, as one examines the USOE's documentary clearinghouses ("ERIC"), one is surprised to find that there has not been one devoted to cultural difference. /Only in August 1968 were certain ethnic problems assigned to ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools./

Part of the oversight comes from the dispersal of the sparse anthropological resources. Even the tiny number of 919 scholars must be divided among four subdisciplines, and then each of these divided further into theoretical (that is, teaching) versus applied.

The Occidental world long has had a tradition of fearing conscious control of fellow man; we may notice this fear today in attitudes toward such directed changers as advertising men. But at the same time, however, the Western world, probably like every society, has been eager to know and utilize the best principles of directed change toward "humanizing"--that is, making into models of themselves--those subhuman things called babies. It is through this channel that applied social science readily may work: through education, wherein our various cultures encourage us to work and the students to adapt, rather than through the directed cultural change of normal operations such as religion (Burger 1967:85-89).

While all social sciences are believed to be underdeveloped, a glaring oversight concerns the nondevelopment of an applied science of cultural differences, namely, applied ethnology. Spontaneous change is far, far simpler than planned change. Yet spontaneous, and not planned, change is the nearest subject chaptered even in such concordances as:

Review of Educational Research (latest relevant is: Volume 37, chapter 7, "Anthropology and Education").

Biennial Review of Anthropology (latest relevant is: 1967, chapter 1, "Cultural Change").

In other words, applied educational ethnology simply cannot leap into its own experiments based on its own accepted principles. Instead, it must first formulate those very principles! But few resources are available, either financial or, more importantly, human. "Applied anthropology /specialists/ . . . have felt that they're kind of a stepchild of the profession"

(Roessel 1967:80). Consequently, the national number of practicing applied ethnologists is believed to be no more than about four dozen. The century of "under-funding" anthropology is now beginning to slow down the "under-funding" society, the United States of America, and will, we believe, lag farther behind for several years to come.

Social Engineering

Most of the writing in educational anthropology heretofore has been descriptive--ethnography--"pure science." Very little indeed has been applied social engineering. Yet the latter is equally important, and probably more creative. The present manual attempts to include both "pure science" and "applied engineering," remembering that, as Theodore Von Karman remarked (quoted in Offner 1967:15), "the scientists explore what is . . . the engineer creates what has never been."

Applied Cultural Science as a Yankee Oversight

Because the cultural level is neglected, many educational scientists have treated children as individualistic atoms, as 'assembly line beasts.' These scientists or, more specifically, educational psychologists, "convert the society of pupils into an aggregate of individual animals. . . . The job which the psychologist has defined for himself . . . /is/ structuring the school situation so that each of the human animals is made to learn more and to learn faster. The educational psychologist thus comes to function like the industrial psychologist whose role it is to help increase production" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:5). Such an interpretation is, fortunately, losing validity with the growth of social psychology, investigating interpersonal relationships. A further correction is seen in the 1965 establishment of 20 United States educational laboratories; its 1,000 staffers include one anthropologist.

America's Rising Social Problems

Another factor making timely this manual is the growing Anglo concern with the fact that not everyone wishes to progress toward his own material values. We sense a deep shock when the United States finds groups ranging from its own Spanish Americans to the people of Southeast Asia sometimes not readily accepting more than superficial patterns of U. S. culture--the process called "Coca-Colonization." There is an interest developing both in impoverished groups and ethnic differences. To the former, there is arising the term "culture of poverty," which is best defined as the social, economic, and cultural system of persons having a low level of social and economic attainment within a given society. The concept, developed particularly through publications by Oscar Lewis, emphasizes that there is a low level not only of achievement but of expectation. Consequently, mere exhortation toward higher goals of income, education, or other types of achievement, often will not work with such a group.

If these are needs for which we can obtain help, since the Southwest's education problems always seem to involve ethnic groups rather than middle class Anglos, the solution would seem to be to seek help from the science that deals with ethnic groups--cultural anthropology.

The Challenge of Changing Race Relations

"The most urgent urban educational challenge of the day is not curriculum or instruction. It is the challenge of changing race relations" (Dentler and others 1967:x). We believe this observation may be generalized: the most urgent of all educational challenges is not curriculum or instruction. It is the challenge of changing sociocultural relations, while simultaneously improving curriculum and instruction.

The Southwestern educational problem is interrelated like that described for Northern New Mexico by Sanchez (1940:37): "Too often the problem . . . is regarded simply as a bilingual problem. . . . It is much more than that. The problem is one of culture contacts and conflicts."

How the Cultural Science Can Help

This manual emphasizes anthropological techniques. We recognize there is much value to be obtained from other disciplines such as social psychology, group dynamics, sociology, etc. However, the combination of space limitations and the availability of materials in many of these other disciplines makes us wish to focus on the area of applied cultural anthropology.

The number of publications dealing with problems of ethnic education is vast; yet only the most minute function of these publications deals with positive, creative solutions. The balance simply tells history or origin of the problem, or describes its present situation.

Because of this extant vastness, the present manual will minimize and almost entirely avoid trying to describe origins or present situations of ethnicity in education. Instead, it will, insofar as possible, emphasize only those factors the editor believes necessary to creative adapting or maneuvering of the factors in ethnic education.

Teaching is a part of the larger problem of motivating and inculcating. There are many closely related activities in our culture, though probably we think of them as quite separate from education. These include such activities as selling, propagandizing politically, chairing a committee meeting, etc.

Because these activities involve many of the same processes as teaching, and because many of them are highly developed in our commercial society, we should learn from them and not scorn them. Consequently, this manual will not hesitate to give instances from those activities so that they may be applied to teaching. In teaching ethnic minorities, our problem is not only that of traditional teaching--of learning theory at the level of psychology--but also of cultural change (acculturation at the level of anthropology).

Prescriptive Anthropology

One of the major choices facing us in authoring this manual was whether to offer principles or prescriptions. Prescriptions are vastly more attractive. They would seem to enable the reader to leap from the printed page to classroom application. For example, a typical prescription might be: "Culture X is a sparsely populated culture. Consequently, the seats in the classrooms for children of such culture should be at least four feet apart!"

Unfortunately, the state of applied anthropology does not permit such prescriptions at this time. There is a vast gap between theory and what is being done without benefit of systematic experimentation.

For example, in the illustration above, we would really have to determine first if Culture X really is sparse, and as compared to what other culture. Then we have to determine whether the sparseness in domiciles is the same as sparseness in preferred seating. This would involve considerable experimentation in determining whether, over at least one semester, at what distance seating the children of that culture resulted in the best examinations.

Finally, we would have to meet with such people as architects to determine whether it is practical and economical for tables and chairs to be portable, or whether some better device such as a plug-in groove system in the floor is preferable, or something else. Furthermore, such information would apply only to a particular manufacturer at a particular time; the vast changes in manufacturing and distributing techniques would readily distort today's cost factors.

It should be obvious that prescriptions, though more attractive, are not the real need in educational anthropology. We must first identify the principles of learning from a cultural standpoint, then the differences in cultures in each of these cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains. First we should offer a hypothesis followed by controlled experiments to verify or disprove the hypothesis.

Consequently, it is better in the long run, even if not as gimmicky and attractive, to try to fill this gap in the development of principles. This manual attempts to do this. We believe in the years ahead, there will be many other applied social scientists who can go forward from these undramatic principles to the more profitable applications of these principles.

CHAPTER II

THE PLAN OF THE MANUAL

The Design of the Manual

This manual offers a systematic, theoretical, and practical approach to the school as a major institution of culture. As Brameld and Sullivan (1961:70) noted, "none [of the anthropologists] has yet offered such an approach."

This manual attempts to present the basic information that the teacher-leader must know for an inter-ethnic classroom. It presents only a sketchy description of the entire social system of the Southwestern ethnic groups. For such ethnographies, the reader is referred to the rather technical, ongoing series of ethnographic atlases in *Ethnology*. (These were recently accumulated in Murdock 1967.)

It is based on the author's gradual review of approximately 1,000 publications on directed cultural change, 200 on Hispanic culture, and 400 on directed educational change. It is also based on inspections of some three dozen Southwestern ethnic schools, and the author's Laboratory activities in some three dozen minority classrooms, plus the general findings from his 123 projects over some 20 years in applied social science.

To enable the interested reader to consult the original sources, this manual gives parenthesized citations to refer to the publications listed in the final chapter. The author's name is followed by the date of earliest publication, and page number in a presently available edition.

Anthropology is the science that distinguishes man from other animals; because of the breadth of subjects it includes, it is sometimes humorously called "the science of man (embracing woman)." Its principal parts are: physical anthropology; ethnolinguistics; ancient cultures, or archaeology; and the principles of culture, or cultural anthropology (or ethnology).

Although there is a vast gap in knowledge of applying ethnology to education, we cannot claim that this manual fills the void; it merely begins. Nor does this manual attempt to discuss the general problem of how to "infiltrate" anthropological approaches to the teaching of many other subjects. It restricts itself to techniques. For the broader, philosophical problems the reader should refer to such material as: Part XI of Mandelbaum *et al*. (1963).

This manual attempts to emphasize operational material and techniques; for more abstract educational anthropology, see Kneller (1965).

Among the topics to be slighted by this manual is social organization, referring to whether a certain culture is bilateral, matrilineal, etc. The reasons are: first, that there are vast amounts of publications on this matter already (such as Marinsek, Effect of Cultural . . . Pueblo Indians, 1958, pages 36 and following) and second, that rather little has been done in connection between the social structure and the possibilities for improving ethnic education. Where such matters do occur (such as in bunking extended kin together instead of by age), the manual *is* interested in reporting them.

Our Laboratory's recent Ethnic Educational Conference resulted in a very enlightening list of suggestions for improving the school system as offered by indigenous leaders themselves and appears in a report made by such leaders at our Laboratory. This is being published separately (Burger 1968b).

Readers are invited to test these hypotheses and report their confirmation or disconfirmation.

For further reference an annotated roster of current projects in Amerindian education appears in William Kelly (1967:49-62); these two dozen projects are abbreviated in Bass and Burger (1967:33-37).

Other References

While this study reports what cultural leaders believe is necessary in the education of their younger generation, it should be supplemented with other opinions. Among these are the opinions of professional behavioral scientists, and the opinions of the pupils themselves. Many such studies have been made, and we refer the reader to two of them that we deem typical. For the first, we suggest Aurbach (1967); the second, Bass (ms.).

Some of the suggestions of Forbes (1967?), while made for a specific ethnic group such as Afro-Americans, are sufficiently sound that we shall apply them to all minority groups.

Because of the absence of applicatory codifications, this first attempt in the field of educational anthropology must produce a resulting unevenness. That is, we find more material available in some sections as the maneuvering of time, than in others, such as the maneuvering of social organization. Now that this codification appears, however, it is hoped that we or others will be able to present in the future a publication comprised of more balanced sections. We have done our best to prevent the dissemination of mythical error. But we invite corrections from the reader, especially inasmuch as the subject of this manual is one that we expect to modernize constantly, either in the form of a revised edition, or some other type of publication.

The Scope of the Manual

There are many publications that describe certain aspects of ethnic minorities, especially their economic aspects, because Anglo culture is so fascinated by economics and so unfascinated by culture. Consequently, this manual redresses the balance by emphasizing the items that are not ordinarily known or discussed as often, such as family relationships, esthetics, etc. This manual by itself is therefore not intended to give a balanced representation of the ethnographic representation of life.

Among the topics that might be discussed in a bicultural situation would be: the family; politeness; the institution of education; and recreation (Nostrand 1967:14). This book does not concern itself with all of these, and it also does not discuss political solutions. Naturally, then the problems that are concerned with politics, such as redistricting, pairing of schools with different ethnic backgrounds, etc., also will not be discussed. We do not pass judgement on whether such programs are effective or ineffective, or whether they are desirable or undesirable. Rather, they are essentially political, in the sense of using the power of government to require certain actions. Therefore they are beyond the realm of applied cultural anthropology, which emphasizes principles of making systems attractive without force to the target population.

Another topic that won't be emphasized is that of language differences, since linguistics is a discipline unto itself supporting many activities including this Laboratory.

Individual Differences Will be Slighted

Other manuals consider individual differences (=psychological level), or class differences (=sociological level). However, this manual attempts to discuss society-wide patterns--the ethnological level.

We used to think that a change of cultures had to be accomplished at the individualistic or psychological level. Today, however, we see that so simple a method cannot account for the gross differences we find in problems of Mexican American students as opposed to Anglo students. The problem obviously is occurring, and should be attacked, at the sociocultural level.

Emphasis: Differences Between Cultures

Because we wish to emphasize the differences between cultures to help the teacher prepare for them, we will naturally tend to rely on more traditional, less modern sources. Thus, the differences we report are probably greater than exists at this moment, since there is a publishing lag.

Likewise, because each minority ethnic group is under strong pressure from the dominant Anglo group, there tend to develop many differences and divergencies in performing cultural activities. For example, if a reservation is close to a dominant Anglo city, the people closest to the city are more likely to change the form of a religious ceremony than those who live farther away. Consequently, it is almost impossible to state definitively what cultural practices and values are uniform throughout any entire ethnic group. Therefore, the supposed average will be discussed instead.

When this manual gives examples, they are meant merely for illustration, and are not intended to be a momentarily precise ethnography. The alert teacher will, instead, simply be receptive to cultural variety, and will carefully observe to see what are the cultural traits that abound in her particular area (Sizemore 1968).

In this manual we shall sometimes refer to cultures which are rather simple or primitive. We do so to demonstrate the diversity of human conditions, and the possibility of variation in human customs. By no means do we wish to imply that any such primitive culture is equivalent to one of the particular cultures discussed in detail in this manual as a target population for educational practices. The only things they have in common are that each differs from the majority (Anglo) culture, and hence deserves consideration in terms of its own values.

For Whom This Manual is Designed

Because this manual must fill a gap both in theory and in practice, different portions will probably appeal to different types of readers. Social scientists probably will prefer the systems-theoretical aspects, and be less interested in the sections dealing with applications. By contrast, persons connected with operational education probably will be interested in the applications, and probably will want only as much theory and ethnography as will benefit them individually. The manual presents only enough theory and ethnography to justify its prescriptions.

Also included in the manual are two pictures, a 170-item bibliography of citations, including the chapter number within this manual citing each publication, and an alphabetical index.

Definitions

It is necessary to define several terms, which may or may not be familiar.

What is culture? Everyone's definition differs somewhat (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952), but we may list these essentials:

Culture is conceptual, not immediate. For example, dogs bark at immediate problems, hence do not display culture.

Culture is social, not individual, i.e., it applies to an entire group. As long as Robinson Crusoe was alone, he had no new island culture.

Culture is historical, not universal. Thus, the differences between the neighboring Anglos, Mormons, Hispanics, and Navajo in the Rimrock area of the Southwest are due at least in part to traditions begun accidentally, and not merely to differences in ecology, such as what crops the land could support.

Culture is repeated, not unique. This means that it is the regular occurence of particular types of behavior that indicates culture.

A pattern (used in this manual to mean an ethnic pattern) is any component of a culture. It is any folkway common to most or all parts of the ethnic group.

Ethnic group, or ethnicity, is a community having racial, linguistic, and/or cultural ties relatively distinct from its neighbors. (Because of intermarriage, ethnicity is probably better determined by attitude than by genetics.) Every human is an *ethnic*, but that word commonly means 'of a *different* ethnicity.'

Spanish Americans. There is a wide variety of both terms and concepts to refer to persons living in the United States who are to some extent of Latin origin, whether born in the United States or elsewhere. They may be called Spanish American, Mexican American, Mexicans, La Raza, Hispanic, etc. Indeed, Edmonson (1957:15) argued that there are dozens of names, such as Los Manitos. We shall throughout this manual refer to this group as "Hispanic" or "Mexican American." The former term initially referred to the Northern part of the Southwest and the latter to the Southern. However, migration and ethnic nationalism are unifying the subgroups. Because the group is far more numerous than other ethnic minorities in the Southwest, this manual elaborates upon it in greater detail.

Amerindian or *Amerind* is any American Indian (including Eskimo)--in contrast to Indic, an Indian of the Asian subcontinent.

The *Tallensi* (adjective Tale) are a culture of Africa's former Gold Coast, and whose education was described in a classic by Fortes (1938).

Yankee is the name of one culture, variably called Anglos, and pertains to the white, middle class majority of the United States. The

United States occupies only a minority of the continents of North America, which we show below (charted in 1960):

	Area (Square Kilometers)	Population
North America	24,256,000	292,000,000
South America	17,807,000	165,000,000
Total	42,063,000	457,000,000
United States	9,353,416	196,842,000

So the United States occupies 22.2% of the land of the Western Hemisphere and has 43% of the population. The United States has less than half of the population, and definitely a minority of area, so it is incorrect to equate Americans with citizens of the United States. Because of this, we shall have to use one of the more precise words, such as Anglo (especially a Southwestern United States word) or Yankee.

The term Anglo, though used to mean Yankee frequently in the Southwest, in fact tends to mean a certain subculture of the Yankees--that of the rather independent, often rural type of Anglo associated with Oklahoma, Texas, etc. While we shall sometimes intersperse Anglo and Yankee for "elegant variation," the more accurate term for the culture of the United States would be Yankee.

Enculturation is "the process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values" (Merriam 1961:s.v. enculturation). Thus enculturation includes both formal schooling and all informal learning, such as casual observation of adults.

Ethnocentrism is the "disposition to judge foreign people or groups by the standards and practices of one's own culture" (Merriam 1961:s.v. ethnocentrism).

Europocentrism is that type of ethnocentrism in which Western people interpret the world in terms of European-American values and perceptions.

Cultural sensitivity, probably equivalent to xenophilia, is appreciation of culture(s) other than one's own as opposed to ethnocentrism.

Cultural change, or acculturation, is the situation in which patterns alter, whether "naturally" or by conscious plan, whether quickly or slowly, and whether caused by internal or external forces.

Directed cultural change or telesis means situations in which group problems or goals are recognized--sometimes by the people themselves, sometimes by government agencies, sometimes by private groups--and conscious attempts are made through rational processes to solve the problems or attain the goals. This kind of change is in contradistinction to 'spontaneous' or 'undirected' change, in which individuals and groups adopt new ways and abandon the old in seemingly capricious or haphazard fashion (Foster 1958:7).

Diffusion includes the transmission of attitudes, concepts, techniques, etc. within or between cultural groups.

Transculturation is contact between two or more cultures. The adjective transcultural may be considered identical in meaning with cross-cultural, intercultural, and inter-ethnic.

Bilingual means involving two languages. These two usually are that of the ethnic minority child and his dominant culture educational system. Here, bilingual implies giving at least part of the instruction in the child's home language.

Assimilation is the changing of culturally different or heterogeneous peoples into a single cultural pattern.

Syncretism is the reconciliation of two or more cultural systems or elements, with the modification of both (detailed in Burger, 1966).

"Ethno-pedagogy." We shall need a term to describe teaching techniques when applied across cultures, as from dominant cultures, such as the Anglo, toward a minority culture, such as Hispanics in the United States. Fortunately, such a word is readily formed from two well-known meaningful linguistic units, or morphemes. They are: ethno-, which means 'relating to cultures' and, therefore, 'across cultures,' and pedagogy, which means 'the art, science or profession of teaching' (Merriam 1961:s.v. ethno-, and s.v. pedagogy). Consequently, we may form the term "ethno-pedagogy," which we define as the activity of cross-cultural teaching. The concept that I here term "ethno-pedagogy" is about the same, no doubt, as that called "educanthropology," by Patricia Grinager (discussed in Brameld and Sullivan 1961:71).

We shall now discuss how culture makes neighboring cultures different; that is, how ethnicity arises and how it is observable. Then will follow a discussion of how culture is related to education--and we must consider both formal and informal training in the blend that anthropology calls "enculturation."

Next will come a discussion of the relationships between two impinging cultures--the situation that is the focus of the present manual dealing with one culture (probably Anglo) educating an ethnic minority. A particular type of compromise will be detailed.

Then the discussion will turn from material applicable to all cultures to a historical discussion of the ethnic patterns of the United States. We shall attempt to show that industrialism (mass production, rectangularity, materialism, etc.) is one of the important patterns of the United States, beginning in the factories but spreading far beyond and especially into the schools. We will discuss the fact that industrialism tends to stamp into a narrow mold all the elements with which it deals. When industrialism is applied to ethnic minorities it tends to pressure them into imitating the dominant culture. This is equivalent to the traditional Anglo-bound melting pot concept. Yet, as the discussion unfolds, we shall try to show there has been a recent trend away from melting pot toward cultural pluralism.

Then we shall list the various qualities in which cultures can differ, such as their sense of time and of space. This will lead into the discussion of the possibility of consciously changing culture.

Several chapters relate to cross-cultural change as related to the particular problem of education. Listed are some of the problems arising from ethnic difference. We show that education itself may be divided into several parts--the social environment of the school; the methods used by the teacher; the subjects taught; and the examples used to illustrate various subjects. Each can be maneuvered and specific suggestions are given.

Having discussed the dimensions of culture and the methods of culture change, we are ready to discuss specific Southwestern cultures.

Several chapters give details about the social system, the environmental attitudes, and other important but subtle aspects of these cultures: Hispanics, Negroes, Amerindians in general, Navajo Amerindians, Pueblo Amerindians, and, finally, the Yankees.

Let us now consider how the level of analysis in educational problems must be broadened from the present rather narrow focus on peoples individually to the broader level of cultural patterns.

CHAPTER III

THE INADEQUACY OF INDIVIDUALISTIC MODELS FOR CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION

"Many preschool programs for disadvantaged children are based on the assumption that the central problems of disadvantaged children are not intellectual or cognitive at all, but are problems of social and emotional adjustment. The writers do not know of any evidence to support the assumption" (Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann 1966:40).

If these best-selling educationists are ignorant of such factors, perhaps it is time to discuss the cruciality of culture to the problem of cross-cultural education.

Since education concerns the patterning of behavior, it has never been a scientific absolute but has been interlinked with ethnic trends and fads. And for some two generations, Anglo education has been dominated by the science of individual differences, psychology, and by a psychological approach called behaviorism. This school emphasizes visible activity rather than attitudes, cultural norms, ethnic differences, and so on; behaviorism is "the doctrine that the data . . . consist exclusively of the observable evidence of organismic activity especially when expressible in operational or physicalistic terms" (Merriam 1961:s.v. behaviorism).

Psychological processes are similar in many cultures, but the particular instruments or institutions through which they express themselves differ. For example, studies of creativity among Anglos seem to indicate the need for the following preconditions: deep involvement, yet partial detachment; passion, yet decorum; gradual takeover of the mind by the creative project; fraternal criticism; and projection of inspiration.

An example of how the decorum aspect works in a different culture is seen in art carvings on the island of Tiwi near Australia. The art takes the form of carving burial poles. One of the ways in which the decorum is imposed by the culture is that, by Tiwi tradition, the pole must be of either bloodwood or ironwood. Consequently, the artist is limited by cultural tradition to an extremely narrow range of types of carving (Goodale and Koss 1966:184-187).

Thus we see that many, perhaps all, psychological processes are common to many, perhaps all, cultures. *But the materials and channels, "switchboards," through which they may be expressed differ greatly from culture to culture*. The Tiwi embellish burial poles; the Yankees embellish bird baths.

As the Anglo culture of affluence moves from its belief in puritanism and material output to a doctrine appreciating the higher faculties of humans, behaviorism is becoming seen as only one aspect of man's potential.

Emphasizing only the outward results, behaviorism tended to concentrate on visible responses, and hence sought visible stimulations that immediately preceded those responses. But instant stimulus causing instant response, while perhaps suitable for rats and pigeons, tends to neglect the slow, complex learning of human beings. Behaviorism, in its narrowest form, is well suited to the turn of the century ("Social Darwinism") Anglo ideals of individualism, reliance on no-nonsense physical output, and unitized measurement.

"The mechanistic view of life holds that human values are derived from, and ultimately reduced to, biological needs, drives, and principles" (Von Bertalanffy 1967:338).

Especially interesting to the transcultural educational system is the behavioristic specialization developed by Burrhus Skinner. His approach is more concerned with describing than with explaining behavior. He is more interested in the responses from a stimulus than in the intermediate, internal steps (Hodgkinson 1962:185).

Regrettably, however, cultural patterning intercedes. A single stimulus may produce entirely different behaviors, depending on type and degree of acculturation. Humanistic psychologists and social scientists maintain that "a large part of behavior--play and exploratory activities, creativity, and culture in general--simply does not fit in the scheme. Man (and organisms in general) are not stimulus-response machines as the theory presupposes. . . . Not by the wildest flight of fancy can the creativity of an artist, musician, or scientist be reduced to psychological and social adjustment. . . ." (Von Bertalanffy, _loc_. _cit_.).

The stimulus-response scheme is an oversimplification, or "reductionism," which maintains that "an organism, the human included, responds only to stimuli and does so with maximum economy and for maintenance of its homeostatic equilibrium. In other terms, it does nothing if not stimulated or driven by maintenance needs. . . . The consequence is that the child behavior is conceived essentially as 'coping' with an adverse environment, and the task of the educator is therefore thought to be to make this coping as painless as possible, reducing to a minimum any stresses imposed by scholastic requirements. Little use is made of natural curiosity and creativity. . . .

"The S-R theory also implies a /narrowly/ utilitarian theory of education" (ibid., pp. 342-343.). It trains perhaps more than educating.

Thus, the narrower interpretations of behaviorism are under attack by psychologists and other scholars interested in the more complex aspects of human behavior like creativity. But another questioning of behaviorism comes from persons who find still another "layer" of learning separating stimulus from response. That is the cultural level, which from birth implants certain norms. When one culture uses its norms and stimuli on a child from another culture, it criticizes 'inappropriate' responses.

Just such a stimulus-response situation occurs in the most sacred of school rituals, the administration of intelligence tests. These tests essentially measure differences in adaptability to cultural norms. Consequently, then can never be culture free, for there is no absolute of intelligence. Thus, in "intelligence" tests of verbal and number ability, the Jews did best (in the latter, Negroes did next best); in reasoning and in space, the Chinese did best (Lesser and others 1965:64).

"I.Q. test" success varies not only with cultural history, but also with environment. A child who is a resident of an agricultural community sees crops grow regularly but leisurely, not quickly and maneuverably. He thus grows accustomed to patience. To grade him by "power" speed examinations is to misfit him for success in his economy.

Cultural bias is therefore inherent in intelligence and many other types of psychological tests. Fortunately, it now has been scrutinized by many scholars. For a detailed summary, the reader is referred to a basic and important book by Kenneth Eells *et al.*, *Intelligence and Culture Differences; A Study of Cultural Learning and Problem-Solving* (1951).

Likewise, behaviorism's reward theory may work in what Arthur Koestler called a "ratomorphic" world--the closed system of an experiment involving a rat. But it is highly incomplete when applied to humans, especially of differing cultures. The reward system seems to be constructed in terms of (1) materials not spirituals--that is, that the rewardable child prefers candy to creative freedom, and (2) the school bureaucracy not the child's fellow students--that is, that the testee's individual goals are of more concern than the testee's social and cultural concerns. The old psychological idea that people learn best when rewarded by pressure, and avoid things associated with pain, is disproved when the anthropologist looks at global training techniques. Instead, each culture sets its ratios of pleasure and pain, and determines what should be associated with each. For example, the pain of whipping may be a positive, not a negative (aversive) situation, as when a child is taught manliness. Just such initiation rites are conducted among Pueblo-type cultures by the Kachinas. "It then becomes clear that the education of humans cannot be understood through conceptually reducing the entire process to a simple reward-reinforcement system" (Henry 1960:268).

Furthermore, the very concept of rewarding is alien to many cultures. Typical of Yankeeism, it implies that someone (whether the experimental subject by changing his conduct, or the experimented by maneuvering the principles) can alter the environment. Yet many, perhaps most, cultures, deny that very promethean attitude. Typically, many Amerindian tribes have an ethos of harmony with, rather than mastery over, their environment. Consequently, they expect, and teach, propriety, but punish only extremes of impropriety: "Indian friends tell us that they do not praise or reward their children for doing what is proper and right. On the other hand, the . . . child who makes mistakes is shamed" (Wax and Thomas 1961). Shame may be the social equivalent of individualistic pain. We see, then, that cultures differ both in the ratio of reward-to-pain, and in the material or mode (individual versus social) of each. Perhaps from such miscalculations, a study of classroom boredom convinced Philip Jackson (1968:159) that "the learning theorist and the human engineer . . . fail in significant ways to come to grips with the reality of classroom events."

The solution is not merely to change the reward from candy to something liked by the target ethnicity--lamb butchering for the Navajos; rather, it is to respect the traditional attitudes. As we show elsewhere, even a value of fatalism--the opposite of prometheanism--need not prevent teaching. Instead, the teacher merely shows the inherent powers of each substance, whether a chemical fertilizer or a state employment bureau, and implies that its utilization by the student must cause its appropriate result.

Yet Yankeeism continues, generally speaking, to disregard non-Yankee cultural patterns, and is then surprised to find that its dropouts and other problems are overwhelmingly in its ethnic minorities. The typical steamroller attitude is seen even now in a presently popular book (Bereiter and Engelmann 1966:80-90). The school being discussed is not necessarily a cross-cultural school, but it is quite clear from the discussion that the authors feel the same principles should apply to ethnic minorities. Blatantly disregarding minorities' concepts, such as togetherness rather than excelling, the authors would imperialize the patterns of the Anglos: "Children . . . should be required to participate, which means /individually/ answering in a loud clear voice. . . ." If the child "seems to enjoy the power associated with manipulating others, . . . put him in isolation." Toward the child who is indifferent /probably caused by Anglo values being different from his own ethnic minority/, the teacher "should display anger" (ibid.).

In their eagerness to avoid the ethnic level of analysis, Anglos often desperately turn to the formats at which their mass-production culture excels, such as statistics--the democratic discipline.

But mere statistical correlation, such as school success varying with smallness of family, is insufficient either to prove that one causes the other, or to show us how to correct the situation. First, in most situations, the correlation could have occurred by accident.

Secondly, even though a highly significant statistical relationship may be found, the actual size of the correlation coefficient may be so small as to contribute little or nothing to prediction of school success.

We are forced to return to the fact that in transculturation--the situation in which a school system of one (Anglo) group teaches an ethnic minority--there must be knowledge of the inter-ethnic differences in patterns, and accreditation of each pattern as equally valid. We have yet to find statistics showing Bereiter-type methods effective for the goals of this manual: (1) non-Anglos who are tested (2) long, say six months, after the experiment, when their exotic culture has had the opportunity to overwhelm the compartmentalized experiment.

Befitting their interest in quick, observable responses from quick, observable stimuli, the subcultural analysts often seem to produce magically impressive results in the form of learning statistics. Yet the transcultural educational system must study these results with skepticism. They are "closed-system" results that usually consider only the stimuli of the classroom or the teaching machine. They tend to disregard the broader social environment in which the children spend the three-quarters of the days outside of the classroom.

Especially are those hours important when they conflict with the classroom values and subjects, as is often the case with inter-ethnic teaching.

The relation between the psychological level of individual treatment and the cultural level is shown in the following instance. It involved some shy children of San Felipe (Amerindian) Pueblo, New Mexico. It sought to relate the behavior desired by the experimenter to behaviors probable in the children such as playing games. It did so by means of techniques that psychologists call contingency management: sequencing several activities so that the rewarded or pleasurable ones must be preceded by the less likeable ones.

Yet this situation succeeded only during the experiment. As soon as it ended, normal conditions of the exotic culture returned: Just one month after the six-week project had ended, behaviors undesired by the Yankees (such as Amerindian shyness) had returned to the pre-experimental level. In other words, the psychological level was eventually swamped by the cultural pattern (Homme 1966). Since formal schooling is only a fraction of life, it must adopt the rewards and patterns of the society, and cannot expect society to adopt _its_ rewards!

In the transcultural situation which is the focus of this manual, _there can be no individual learning without cultural change_. Acculturation takes time to sink in, and there must be a post-test at least six months after the teaching experiment. Without such "transcultural post-testing," claims of pedagogical success are scientifically questionable.

Analyzing Pupil Behavior

Zintz (1963:51) has distinguished the three major levels of analyzing pupil behavior as follows:

1. _The Psychological Approach_. Here, the teacher assumes that behavior is the individual's response in coping with problems. These responses are patterned in the mental, the physical, and

spiritual, as well as other growths and developments, which are predictable and continuous. In other words, the personality of the individual encompasses his total experience.

2. *Sociological Level*. Here, the teacher assumes that behavior is determined by the role that the individual plays in a social group. This role affects the basic social institutions: family, religion, education, health, recreation, economy, and government. Individuals have multiple roles, and in turn, these roles pressure conformity to the institution's expectations.

3. The teacher may assume the *level of cultural anthropology* or ethnology. To this extent, the behavior is considered rooted in group's culture. This culture establishes the manners, customs, and peculiarities of the group, as well as legislates a set of values to which the group adheres.

All of us are subject to all levels--the individual (psychological), the class (sociological), and the cultural (anthropological).

To understand the intensity and interlinkage of cultural values that the transcultural teacher must face, it is now appropriate to consider ethnology, that is, culture as the basic human system of adapting and surviving.

CHAPTER IV

HOW CULTURE MAKES NEIGHBORING SOCIETIES DIFFERENT

The Definition of Culture

A child's cultural heritage must not be ignored! To enable the child to get the most from his association with a teacher not of the same ethnic background, the teacher must do his part by learning all he can about the child.

For the teacher to understand something of the child's culture, however, the teacher should first understand himself, his culture, and what (any) culture *is*.

We defined culture as being conceptual, not immediate; social, not individual; historical, not universal; and repetitious, not unique.

At the same time, ethnicity has put enormous effort into *narrowing* the perceptual sphere of the individual. As an individual, he may be viewed as a *homo inquisitor*--man the curious, the inquirer. Yet society may worry that the careful arrangement of the cultural patterns will be destroyed if the citizen searches without limit. Thus, though man has poured all he knows into his cultural pattern, the pattern has solidified around him and now holds him fast (Henry 1960:304).

To illustrate this phenomenon, let us cite a case of color categorization. The Bassa, a language group of Liberia, perceive the rainbow as having only two colors: *hui* (somewhat bluish) and *zĩza* (orange-like) (Gleason 1961:4-5). However, this fact does not indicate that the Bassa are "backward." Rather, the bipolar division is all they find necessary.

Similarly, like the Bassa, Anglo botanists have found that yellows, oranges, and many reds constitute one series of flower colors, whereas blues, purples, and purple-reds constitute another. For these two groups they use simply the bipolar terms *xanthic* and *cyanic*, respectively; these correspond fairly well to *zĩza* and *hui*. Consequently, we see that color categorization, like many other things, is a product of culture, and not particularly of genetics.

So culture is a patterning, a selection from much larger potential range of human abilities. But the patterning selected (whether consciously or more often unconsciously) tends to rule out other possibilities. This means that if the chosen pattern turns out to be a creative, productive one, one that taps energies that will in the future be available, the culture prospers. However, the environment is always changing. Hence, the predetermination more often limits the length of vitality of the culture. As Krober explained, "The very selection which at the outset is necessary if a distinctive pattern is to be produced, is almost certain later on to become a limitation. . . . . There may be a reconstitution of energy and direction . . . [but] more often, . . . endeavors become evident toward strain and rupture of the pattern" (1944:840;763). The initial preferences become crystallized until they choke off the alternatives, and strain the increasingly deprived society.

Culture is, fortunately, not necessarily intolerant. It may support *some* diversity within its patterns. Indeed, it has been convincingly argued by anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1961:40) that the thing which potentially links all members of a culture together is that "the behavior of other people under various circumstances is predictable . . . and thus is capable of being predictably related to one's own action." But it is not necessary for all members of a community to have unanimity on even a single motive or cognition, he argued. (Certainly this finding should caution the teacher who expects both unanimity [such as a single type answer to her question] both from all students, and from a student population patterned in a culture different from her own; compare the findings of Garber [ms.].)

According to Davis (1952:69-70), "a 'culture-free' test situation . . . cannot be designed because all human behaviors, including oral responses of children to test problems, are interconnected with cultural acts." Other manuals being issued by this Laboratory show ethnic differences in various psychological tests, and, by implication, the unfairness of the educational establishment's having for many years used these tests as a norm by which non-Anglos were, in effect, being measured in the matters in which Anglos were particularly strong.

When there is a discrepancy between an individual's aspirations and his educational and economic opportunities, one way in which culture allows him to reconcile it is by becoming ill. Indeed, it is sometimes argued that mental illness is not maladaptation but actual adaptation to a situation that, studied rationally, is intolerable.

Patterning Favors Some Activities and Discourages Others

Because a society differing from one to which we are accustomed may favor a trait we would not consider and vice versa, disparity among the peoples of the world finds another foothold to keep them apart. Many Japanese have been educated to delight in the taste of raw fish. Or a Moslem might be repulsed at the thought of eating beef. Some Yankees eat even the secretions of an insect's esophagus (honey). Yet all of these people survive and thrive on their foods. Thus the diversity comes from cultural, not genetic, inheritance.

The following examples of diversification among peoples because of patterning show a few ways in which people have stumbled, by accident, or have selected to become one world, divided into many little worlds.

A selection by the Iroquois Amerindians has been made as to the proper way of committing suicide: Although several equally poisonous plants abounded in their area, they, for the accidental reason that we might call historical, happened to select *cicuta maculata* (water hemlock). From then on, almost all suicides used this root rather than the almost equally available other roots. It had been patterned as an "approved" system for suicide (Fenton 1941:86).

A second example is seen in the fact that "coercion is and has been a fundamental element in the social order of the Western world. Social theorists have characterized the state as that national institution that effectively claims the legitimate monopoly of violence. . . . In contrast, many of the [Amerindian] societies were organized on principles that relied . . . on voluntary cooperation" (Wax and Thomas 1961).

We find that even the voice is not a biological constant, but is patterned somewhat by culture. For example, men are supposed to have deep voices and women high voices among the Yankees, but the opposite is often true of upper class English and lower class Latins (Landes 1965:181).

Menial labor, as an example, is often considered degrading by Anglos. Yet some other cultures look on it quite differently. For example, the dining room cleanup was named by several conservative young Amerindian women as their favorite high school activity! Apparently they enjoy the setting of tables and washing dishes because it gave them the opportunity to gossip, joke, and work together in the relaxed fashion that many women, Amerindian or other, find reassuring (R. Wax and M. Wax 1964:28).

The Accidentalness of Initial Cultural Patterning

Having long neglected the possible differences and advantages of those divergences of two or more cultures, men merely have paid attention to conventional behavior as if it existed without reference to culture. We have long termed the person who does not know such facts as an ignoramus, but have failed to realize it is just as dangerous a shortcoming to be ignorant of culture, to be what we might call a "culturamus."

Constantly misinterpreted and misunderstood by the average Anglo is the "inner-directed" culture in which the individual is given a strong sense of mission and which controls its citizens by means of making them feel guilty when they have disobeyed its rules. By contrast, a culture which has fewer fixed goals and is more adaptive will control its citizens by shame, the comments of citizens about the citizen violating the customs. Thus, Navajos, who are highly adaptive, will not tolerate one Navajo's lying to another, since that would be going against their cultural heritage. But to an outsider, such as an Anglo, the Navajo may occasionally lie and do so feeling almost no guilt. If, however, the Navajo is caught, he does experience shame, inasmuch as his conduct is felt to demean the entire tribe (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:218-219).

Even so obvious a matter as the categories of sin vary from culture to culture resulting in a misunderstanding among the peoples. Yet these peoples don't seem to be able to control their attitudes toward others--nor do they seem to be able to tolerate others' activities. Even less does the majority tolerate the actual trait. For example, in some societies, a contract based on words is important; hence lying is as immoral as theft. By contrast, in other cultures, where there are fewer situations based on abstractions and long range relationships with strangers, theft is considered immoral, but lying is considered merely foolish (compare the Tallensi of Gold Coast in Fortes 1938:38). It is easy to visualize the difficulty a person from the latter community would have if he should move to the former community and be "merely foolish" there.

The Adaptability of Ethnic Patterns. While emphasizing the historical accidentalness of ethnic patterns, we must note that they must also have some ecological (economic-like) utility if the culture is to survive. Thus, cannibalism tends to be practiced where animal protein is rare. As a result, the trait that helps to produce surer survival, that is "adaptive," tends to persist. It need not be fully adaptive, however, for science finds many partially self-defeating elements in all

Since ethnicity generally is useful in survival, the cross-cultural teacher must be careful about altering the habits of her target children to her own. Consider, for example, the trait of cleanliness. It is not a global virtue, but rather quite peculiar to certain cultures, especially Anglos. Anglos pride themselves on being clean, and criticize other cultures and minorities for being dirty. This is relative.

This simple virtue is based on a whole complex of other cultural facts and values. For example, cleanliness depends on washing and bathing frequently, which depends in turn on such practical technologies as the presence of running water, which in turn depends on factors such as the presence of piping and nearness to reservoirs or rivers. This is also not a matter of mere economics, but of the distance which the child and his family live from the most developed parts of a town. The very fact that ethnic minorities live in less accessible areas means they generally have less access to running water. Consequently, we have no justification in expecting the same cleanliness from them as from middle class Anglos. Secondly, Anglo cleanliness is in the person, but at the same time Anglo culture seems to encourage untidiness, unkemptness, of areas such as yards, and especially public areas, such as streets and sidewalks (Sunley 1955:157).

The Radiation of the Initial Patterns, or "Secondary Acculturation," or "Haoleization"

After each ethnic pattern crystallizes, it begins to spread (Foster 1960). One channel is the migration of the peoples of one area to another.

Thus, since the first Europeans in the North American colonies were English, English culture traits now are numerous in the United States (Simpson 1957:52). For example, they spread on equalitarian society, tending to lay out their towns so that there was a single church, a single congregation. Nor has this pattern of diffusion of existing systems ended. When the United States scientists set up new complete towns in areas for atomic research, such as Los Alamos, they foisted their own traditions such as rectangular glass buildings, rather than the indigenous patterns, such as the New Mexican use of wood and brown colors (compare Arensberg 1955:1148;1157).

(There were, of course, many residents, both aboriginal and European in the New World, such as the Spanish in the Southwest, but gradually they were politically subdued by the expanding Yankee culture.)

To cite another example, the part of England called East Anglia had, around the 17th century, a system of manors, with estates whose tenants had considerable economic self-sufficiency. From East Anglia came most of the group called Puritans to the New World. Consequently, the type of land system established by Puritans naturally tended to be similar to open-field villages (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:103; compare homestead individualism in Ardrey 1966:112).

The Integration of any Culture

Since the initial patterns of a culture radiate and canalize the enlarging activities, the culture gradually becomes integrated. Indeed, anthropology argues that every culture is complete. It includes means for survival, religion, economics, emotion, arts, etc.

We concede that a culture temporarily may be incomplete, as in the galleys of ships momentarily consolidating persons from different parts of Africa who were being shanghaied to slavery in America. Yet almost as soon as a geographically connected society reproduces itself, we must grant that it, being human, has a culture.

One of the misunderstandings by many people is that an ethnic minority is suffering culturally and that the environment of a child who lives in such a society is assumed to be inadequate for his rearing. This assumption would be correct if that child were suddenly transported to another, culturally different society. *But* as a product of *his* society, he is being taught all he needs to know to subsist in that particular society. However, some educators believe that his experiences must be slight, that his home is devoid of educational materials, and, most of all, that because he speaks another language and only that language, he must be unfortunate in terms of their world. This is the concept, the fallacy, termed "cultural deprivation." The home and the mind of such a child are, in addition, described as if they were empty or lacking pattern. His experience is said to be meager. His home lacks books, 'so it must lack communication and everything.' Since he speaks "only" the native language, he is assumed to lack "important" language--that of the ethnic majority. Indeed, some equate cultural deprivation with cultural illogicalness. Thus, Carl Bereiter (quoted in John 1968:3) says culturally deprived children [presumably including ethnic minorities] have "basically a nonlogical mode of expressive behavior which *lacks the formal properties necessary for the organization of thought*."

In fact, such an attitude confuses language as a communicative process with language as an intellective (intra-personal) process 1968:5). Every culture has a language that is able to reason. The problem arises im communicating between different social classes of one culture or between different cultures. The person who conceives the ethnic minority as being culturally deprived merely does not perceive what their culture is. Furthermore, such an ideology justifies the educators' ignorance of the ethnic minroty's culture. For, if the child "actually had a culture including knowledge and values, then they ought properly to learn about these so as to build on his present status, but if he is conceived of as a vacuum on entering school, then the educators may properly ignore his home and communicty" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1964). To term a group of children or adults culturally deprived, and having a nonlogical communication system, is to misunderstand the findings of anthropology at the elemental level. Their cultural deprivation is not, as the term implies, due to the immaturity or inherent inferiority of their ethnicity. Rather, it is due to the preemption, the suppression, of some sectors of their culture by the majority culture. A general solution, discussed in our later syncretism chapter, might be then, to find areas natural to the minority (such as, perhaps crafts) that can be developed to bridge gaps in the majority culture, rather than to teach the ethnic minority to ape the goals and means of the exotic majority. Thus, the gentry class system of Peru probably suppressed the need for schooling among the villagers of Vicos. But an experimental modernization of crops and other sectors of life warranted literacy; hence schooling was expanded (cf. Holmberg 1960).

In explaining how a society perpetuates itself, we have argued that culture is conceptual, not immediate; social, not individual; historical, not universal; and repeated, not unique. It is complete, and, as such, it includes a means for survival which in turn includes economics, emotion, sexuality, social behavior, customs, mores, etc. A person's actions within a given culture usually will conform to a norm set for that society although there will even be some deviation by individuals within that culture. It will not conform to a norm set for another society, and this is where we find that one pattern based on one society will be insufficient when trying to apply it to other societies. An attempt has been made to show that although one culture may do one thing and another something else, one society should not try to force its beliefs different from one another. For each has found a way of life without the other and has survived to be acknowledged as a culture. Cultural traits tend to spread, so that later ethnic activities (such as economics) tend to be congruous, harmonious, with the earliest ones. Cultural deprivation is the fallacy used to justify one society imposing its system on another. For, as we shall show, each human group has developed institutions to perpetuate its modes of survival. These modes may, in the case of the Anglo system, normalize moderate change in certain sectors such as technology. But those same modes operate to damp radical change. Yankeeism, for example, probably discourages alteration of economic proportions between its ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER V

HOW CULTURE STRUCTURES EDUCATION

If all sectors of a culture are essentially harmonious, then the training of the young may be expected to fit the patterns of approved adults. We see just such a developmental series even in the animal world.

Interpersonal Then Social Motivation for Learning

Studies of primate animals suggest that the young learn best through emotionally rewarding interpersonal bonds. In the later years they would seem to learn best through clearly visible, socially important objectives. Thus, in education, discipline is no substitute for play.

"The cry for reform of the formality and ethnocentrism in today's Anglo schools comes not only from the ghetto, but from all we know of primate nature" (Washburn 1968:12-13).

Both primate and human infants learn by play. But humans, specializing in symbols, have added conscious, symbolized rules to the play they permit their children: "Homo sapiens learned long ago that there is no such thing as 'natural maturation' in a social sense. . . . The central problem for human beings is the adaptation of each new generation to culture" (Henry 1960:304). A number of these are, however, so complex as to require our further consideration.

Where primitive play affected adult pursuits, it was to a large extent a directed practice rather than mere imitation. This fact can be further substantiated by much evidence. Among the Sioux, for instance, "a warrior had found a nest and promptly informed the chief, who summoned the boys with nicely assumed gravity and gave them a speech of exhortation such as, on more serious occasions, he might give to warriors about to go against the enemy. Old men accompanied the boys, some of whom were hardly more than five, and stood in the background shouting encouragement to those for whom hornet stings on sensitive parts of the anatomy seemed good reason to retreat. When they returned to the village with eyes swollen shut and body *repoussé*, they were made to feel tremendously proud by the applause of the population" (Pettitt 1946:44).

During the process of interaction which Washburn suggests, whether motivated by interpersonal relations or more broad social ones, children react to rewards and punishments. "Over and over again, the data show that children have had to be urged up the status ladder by rewards, punishments, and other even more complex devices" (Henry 1960: 304). As shown earlier, however, the ratios and modes of 'reinforcement' vary widely with ethnicity. For example, even if rewards are present, they need not be material or gradated. Rewards can be simply acceptance by adults; the system that proportions candy to the correctness of a mathematical answer, by contrast, is a typically ethnocentric device to force children into a materialistic, quanitative, abstract world--a world which, if they are non-Anglos, probably will reject them anyhow.

Primitive education is not necessarily less competitive or less severe than modern complex society education. Again, it depends on the culture. For example, among the Kpelle of Liberia there is a rugged secret society "bush" school, whose instruction ranges from mock battles to fine arts. Those students "who die from the strenuous life are considered not to have been reborn into adult citizenship, and their mothers are not expected to weep" (M. H. Watkins, quoted in Henry 1960:277). Gradually, a shift "takes place from reward for conformity to mere punishment for nonconformity as the child grows older; and there is the gradual dropping-out of rewards as the child's competence comes to be taken for granted" (Henry 1960:277).

Universal Characteristics of Human Education

Certain characteristics of human education appear everywhere, according to Jules Henry (1960:304):

-use of reward stimuli (especially praise, appreciation, and elevation of status).

-use of pain stimuli to learning: ridicule, accusation, physical pain, confinement or restriction.

-using the person who occupies a certain role as the instructor in that role (for example, the teaching of archery by archers). However, modern mass education has radically changed this.

-the low status of teachers who do not teach sacred matters (such, for example, as the modern non-priestly teacher).

-where there is love of knowledge for its own sake, the high status of teachers and the interest of students in learning.

-only a few gifted individuals being creative.

-despite the natural curiosity of children, the absence of a natural impulse to learn, especially when it requires work.

However, social science shows this to be a very small part of how the child or even the young adult learns. He acquires patterns through many more ways, such as observation, social events, family training, kinship indoctrination, and so on.

The combination of formal learning and informal training, which is the true method whereby learning is accomplished in any culture, is called enculturation, "the process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values" (Merriam 1961:s.v. enculturation). Thus, "enculturation is all learning enjoined on the person with a particular status as a member of a particular culture-bearing society. . . ." (Wallace 1961:29). Consequently, enculturation is more than schooling and education. It also includes such skills as knowing languages; obeying cultural patterns for bodily processes; obtaining and utilizing clothing, shelter, transport, weapons, and help; communicating emotions conventionally; etc. (*ibid.*). The present Anglo emphasis on teaching disjointed facts must therefore be broadened.

The Primitive Integration of Childhood and Adulthood

This manual seeks to understand and master educational culture and evolution. It aims beyond presentation of a momentary contrivance or two. Let us, then, contrast the general pattern of teaching in 'developed' cultures such as the United States with those in simpler cultures such as the Tallensi. In the complex culture, perhaps because of its complexity, the behavior is built up bit by bit, by addition, during the course of a child's life. By contrast, the simpler cultures present similar behavior as a total schema from birth. For example, the child develops a passionate interest in land and crops simultaneously with a sense of moral responsibility toward his family and ancestoral spirits (Fortes 1938:42).

Children's Curiosity--Of Methods, Not Reasons

In a simpler culture, where the child and the adult share a common world, tots are curious as to method but rarely as to reasons. The old belief that children everywhere ask 'why?' is simply not borne out by the facts. For example, among the Tallensi, most learning occurs in real situations. There, explanation is coupled with instruction, and adults discuss the matter in terms of cause and effect. Hence, children will rarely ask 'why' type questions (Fortes 1938:30). In the few cases where the reasons are not obvious, the adult will give as justification the simple statement that "our forefathers' custom is this." The children accept it without further question (Fortes 1938: 35).

The Primitive Institutionalization of Kin as Teachers

Since simpler cultures relate learning to daily activities, and childhood to adulthood, they rarely formalize their schooling: "Education was not consciously institutionalized among primitive peoples. The father and mother undoubtedly gave as much time as anyone to the training of their children. Far more than in civilized society, their standing in the community depended upon the behavior and success of their children. The statement so often made that the society as a group took responsibility for children is true only if we recognize that the society worked with the parents and usually at their instigation" (Pettitt 1946:22). Teachers are all adults.

Learning is gradual. In the simple culture like the Tallensi, "children are expected to acquire, in due course, the elementary bodily skills. . . . There is no deliberate training in these skills. Parents and older siblings take an affectionate and attentive, though sporadic, interest in . . . development" (Fortes 1938: 24). An adult feels a moral compulsion to transmit his craft, his tools, and his knowledge to his child of the same sex. Thus, iron work is not merely a profitable craft in parts of the Gold Coast; it is a religious duty to the ancestors. And the infant clamoring for attention always finds someone nearby to give attention (Fortes 1938:25).

Learning in Simple Societies--Not Institutionalized

Even in simple societies, the learning process is not entirely spontaneous imitation of adults by children. In part, there is carefully patterned reward, praise, and ridicule for socially accepted goals. For example, economic attainment is carefully graded from simple to complex, so that, for example, in a hunting culture, a child is carefully guided to making a capture of a very small animal with a miniature bow and arrow before he is guided to the next size of animal.

"Speaking generally, American Indian boys progressed through a publicly accepted sequence of hunting achievements, beginning usually with birds killed with blunt arrows, passing through a series of small animals of the varmint /vermin/ class and culminating in bagging of the large game animals. Each animal killed had to be brought back to camp, and the young hunter could not partake of it himself, but had to sit in state while others feasted and figuratively or literally sang his praise" (Pettitt 1946:76;cf. 161).

We may see how the sporadic play of infancy is developed socially by looking at an example among the Tallensi. There, the infant's sporadic motor exuberance gradually is transformed into organized group games and dances. The rudimentary mimetic play becomes elaborate and protracted imaginative and constructive play. The rude toy making of infancy grows into children's arts and crafts (Fortes 1938: 53).

Children are allowed to be present at most activities of adults, and by overhearing conversations and piecing actions together, they develop accurate and comprehensive knowledge. Thus, even a six year old has a complete sexual knowledge, though not derived by direct instruction (*ibid*.:27).

The Child's Role in Learning, as Seen by an Adult

In many cultures, children are considered as a separate class, as if adult trainees. When a child errs, such as defecating indoors, he is reprimanded: "You are big enough already. Can't you go outside for that?" Likewise, no one would think of talking to him in baby talk (Fortes 1938:26-27).

Since life changes more slowly in a simpler culture than in a complex one, the teaching examples need not be recent items from real life, but can become generalized in folklore. Myths and folk tales are not merely instruments of adult entertainment. Rather, by such devices as casting juveniles as leading characters, they have as a principal purpose the education of the young (Pettitt 1946: 61).

"By creating an illusion of reality for the supernatural, primitive teachers made available an effective educational instrumentality. . . . A supernatural agency has the power to detect transgressions even when they are successfully concealed from other human beings. . . . In primitive society a numberless force of supernaturals [such as the owl] who see all and know all performs a police function" (Pettitt 1946: 26).

Learning in Primitive vs. Complex Society

The amounts of each type of knowledge assimilated by the growing child depends on the society. Thus, among the Tallensi, a six year old's knowledge is incomplete in kinship structure and ritual, moderately complete in agricultural processes, and very complete in knowledge of sex life (Fortes 1938:44).

Complex societies such as the United States are only now learning that adults cannot feel that they have ever completed their education, but may be required to retrain in as late as the 40's. By contrast, in primitive cultures, it is often realized that every stage of life has certain problems to be learned. For example, among the Tallensi not only does the toddler lean over to play with his nursling brother to teach him about the environment, but even gray haired men consciously learn specialized rituals (Fortes 1938:15).

Teaching as a Means of Stratification

Since knowledge is power, the ability to withhold or to channel knowledge is the ability to rank. And no society, even the most egalitarian, treats all persons equally; it distinguishes at least the young from the mature, males from females, strangers from natives, etc.

One way to make such a distinction permanent, and prevent territorial infringement by one class into the other, is to limit the teaching of each class. Apparently all societies do so. Even the primitive culture that seems to show its children all adult activities probably restricts some, such as ceremony, procreation, etc.

Further disclosure often is given with aging, since youth is believed unready for complex decision. When ceremonialized, we call the disclosure or promotion a "rite of transition." The boy becomes a man, or the apprentice becomes a full-fledged curer. Yet, since he has spent his time at some things, such as hunting, he has never learned others, such as perhaps cooking. Specialization, even in primitivity, helps create lifelong class systems.

History warns us that where a deprived class or culture needs and wants the learning of which it has somehow been deprived, it will seek it by mystical means, ranging from an association expecting the arrival of the desired proceeds ("cargo cult") to riots.

The type of cultural experience in which there is a sharp break between child role and adult role has been called "discontinuous" by Ruth Benedict (discussed in Henry 1960:292). In many, perhaps all cultures, there are one or more times in the life cycle when culture drastically reduced the number of alternatives he has for behavior. For example, among the Tiwi of North Australia, the boy of 13 years of age, used to boisterous, irresponsible play, suddenly is required to sit still for days at a time, understanding intricate lectures given by hostile preceptors. His food, all contact with females, even his scratching, are greatly regulated (C. W. M. Hart, cited in Spindler 1959:40-41).

Such a restriction of alternatives has been called "cultural compression," and in a typical Western society it involves such matters as toilet training. Children are most curious about ceremonial matters, and one of the most common discontinuities in primitive education concerns ceremony, religion and magic. Such discontinuity is often broken by initiation. The function of this discontinuity and initiation may well be to effect reorientation of the personality. Thus, when one Hopi Amerindian was initiated, and learned that the Kachinas (disciplinary gods) were merely his own kinsmen, he "thought of the flogging and the initiation as a turning point in my life, and I felt ready at last to listen to my elders and to live right" (quoted by L. W. Simmons, reprinted in Henry 1960:294). The initiation or similar activity places such burdens upon the personality that this new knowledge creates a shock whose overcoming will restructure the personality for the rest of life, somewhat as the personality and culture specialist Anthony Wallace has often argued. Ceremonial education is, of course important to simpler societies and it seems to bring together two things: the responsibility of the broader kin group and the communication of knowledge (Henry 1960:277). One way the children learn ceremonial dances is through practicing during the actual ceremony. For example, in both the heterosexual dances and monosexual dances, at the tail end of the dance line there will always be a few small boys or girls practicing voluntarily. In the complex culture, the restriction of teaching may be conceptualized as a part of ranking. The elite are taught more, quantitatively and qualitatively. By virtue of their place in society alone, the middle class member has a distinct advantage since the hidden curriculum of the middle place home offers a substantial compensatory program for children raised in the middle class, and those destined to remain in the lower classes are carefully prevented from learning mobility methods and subjects. A parallel is seen in Jules Henry's (1968:20) concept that an important function of education is "legitimate social stupidity." Throughout their schooling, children must be given subject matter that confirms legitimate stupidity and . . . whatever challenges that must be withheld. Thus, a typical textbook discussed the modern South with no reference to Negroes. As a result of such planned ignorances, Henry argues, United States children are unable to understand "war, the bomb, the Negro problem, the Soviet Union, imperialism, and so on." While the simpler culture relied on kin as casual trainers, and the complex culture relied on professional teachers, the realization has been growing that schooling is only a small part of enculturation. Hence cross-cultural education must consider the effects of entire other groups of persons who are daily committed to influencing the young. Among these are governments of all types, merchants, agitators of various types such as for religious groups, normal practitioners of persuasion, ranging from missionaries to colonial officers and Indian agents, and--particularly--teachers. "Educators are obvious change agents, especially in the world as it is today, where what is taught in schools is frequently at variance with what is taught in the pupil's homes" (Goodenough 1963:19).

Adapt the Approach of Teaching to Cultural Values

We see that cultures differ in every aspect of enculturation. Not even school buildings exist everywhere; teachers are not always certificated; subjects are not always intellectual, and so on. This reality should alert the educator to adapt his plan to the customs of the target populace. For example, when Chile sought to persuade pregnant women to be instructed in prenatal care, it found that the culture equated education with childishness. Since pregnant married women would not consider themselves as children, they refused to attend class. The solution was an easy one of fitting cultural values: Chile placed great prestige on social clubs and the club life, since this was associated with only the upper middle and the upper classes. Consequently, the public health center simply arranged to have classes held not in schools, but in private homes. The bureau provided tea and cakes (quite a change from textbooks!). And immediately the women gladly began coming to "classes" (Foster 1962:72-73).

From such successes, we are reminded that classroom lecturing need be but a part of enculturation. Adapting the teaching mode to the age and status of the student is especially important in alluring the adults, as in adult basic education programs so important to ethnic minorities.

Thus, we have seen indeed that through the process of enculturation, formal and informal learning, people of primitive and complex societies learn and that this learning can take place in many varied ways, with or without problems to the learner.

We have discussed the training operations of a single culture seeking to convert its young into the existing patterns of the adults. However, many a culture stands not alone but impacted by neighbors or by a dominant society of which it forms but one sector. Hence we must consider how ethnic patterns are altered when two or more societies come into contact. For this is the situation when a school board and a teacher of one culture impose their values on the children of an ethnic minority.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF OUTCOME WHEN TWO CULTURES MEET

Previous discussion has shown how a culture maintains its values and behaviors, both by formal and informal means. However, this manual is designed for an even subtler problem: that of education by one culture of another culture's children. Consequently, we must now go beyond unicultural principles, and consider the principles involved in bicultural contacts, in transculturation.

The reader may remember the argument in an earlier chapter that each culture is complete. "Cultural deprivation," or cultural impoverishment, is a naive, ethnocentric judgement by the person of one society who does not understand the norms of the other.

Types of Society

In respect to diversity of cultural patterns, M. G. Smith (discussed in Despres 1968:11) distinguished three types of society:

1. Homogeneous. All groups of a political unit share the same total institutional system. A typical example may be a preliterate society.
2. Heterogeneous. The groups within a political unit share the same system of basic institutions, but participate in different systems of alternative and exclusive institutions; for example, most modern societies, such as the United States.
3. Plural. Groups living within a political unit have very different systems of compulsory or basic institutions. The cultural plurality

of the society corresponds to its social plurality. The culturally distinct units are its "cultural sections." Each displays an area of common life beyond which relationships are specific, segmental, and governed by economic and political structures.

Being a member of an ethnic minority is quite a different matter from economic or social disadvantages of the type of which Jean Piaget and others have written. Pattern differences should not be interpreted as assimilation desires. These children may not consider themselves economically deprived, since they probably are normal for _their cultural communities_ (cf. Fuchs 1967:44). These youngsters are not devoid of sensory experience, emotions, and interests. They ask questions, talk about sensations, express fear and wonder (Fuchs 1967:44).

If, therefore, norms from one culture are to be poured into the other, they either will have to blend with or replace the other's. They cannot simply fill the "empty" scheme of the target society. As in the Biblical parable of old wine bottles that tinge fresh wine that is poured in, the dominant society cannot expect acceptance of its values and behavior. To imagine such a reception is "the fallacy of the empty vessels" (Polgar 1962:165).

While that fallacy assumes the target culture to be utterly flexible, the opposite fallacy also appears: Administrators, such as of Anglo school systems, frequently have considered the target group as hopelessly fixated in its "superstitions." Indeed, I suspect that the present renaissance of research between genetics and behavior may reflect the Anglo's belief that, since they have failed to redirect cultural change, the fault must lie in the genes. Instead, however, ethnicity is the tendency to react variously (although not randomly) to various impingements.

When two or more cultures come into contact in the process of "transculturation" (as by one culture dominating another), the transfer outcome is very difficult to predict unless one knows precisely the important factors in this transaction.

Because a minority culture is impacted by the dominant culture in varying degrees, rather than equally, the children of that culture also will vary in their degrees of acculturation. Consequently, we will have differing degrees of knowledge of the customs and facts of the dominant culture. They will respond differently to given amounts of instruction.

As a prescription, any minority deserves--even more than a majority classroom--some sort of ungraded classwork. In this way, its members can contribute their differential amounts of knowledge and understanding, and yet retain friendship and kinship with their classmates.

However, it is not necessary that either culture change during transcultural contact. Indeed, the outcome may include a vast number of possibilities such as assimilation, integration, syncretism (mutual reconciliation), etc. (A discussion of acculturative principles appears in Burger /1967:137-157/.)

If the change has been planned, we may term it as directed cultural change, or "telesis." Where both societies survive next to one another or intertwined, the situation is multi-cultural, or "poly-ethnic."

Poly-ethnicity may exist in any of many combinations. For example, the dominant culture merely may subordinate the other cultures, producing a pluralism without functional integration. The society may have some sort of stratification such as social ranking, but each subculture may crosscut several (but not all) social classes to form an "enmeshment," or the several cultures may be politically and culturally equal.

The history of current theories of the concept of "cultural pluralism" is discussed at length in Despres (1968).

One poly-ethnic society that was studied, which may or may not be typical of all, "began to change from one which is ethnically stratified, with each ethnic section confined to a single set of occupations, to a society which is economically stratified with each section pursuing a whole range of occupations" (Benedict 1962:1244).

The daily activities of a poly-ethnic or plural society that involve two or more of the subcultures have been called "plurification" by Eidheim (1966:435). There are other possible combinations of two cultures. Several are described in Despres (1964).

If there is large-scale intermarriage, the process may be termed amalgamation. Still other types of possible assimilation include structural assimilation, with the minority entering in a large scale into the institutions of the host's society, development of a sense of peoplehood, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, and absence of value and power conflict (Gordon 1964:71).

A violation by one culture of the values of another causes considerable cultural shock. We may find an example in the sensitive matter of boy-girl relations.

To the Yankee teacher, who stresses bisexual equality, it seems a minor point to demand that the young Pueblo Indian girls sit next to Pueblo boys. After all, the Yankees consider themselves great libertarians! Yet the same Yankees experience great shock when they find bisexual bathing in Japan, or bisexual toilets in France.

But a trait first occurs somewhat accidentally, and then becomes crystallized and spreads in "haoleization" through the growing society.

We may note a similar evolution in contacts between two cultures. The recipient society accepts only what it needs or is forced upon it. Thereafter, the borrowed trait becomes integrated and "indigenized" with the original traits, and they govern the acceptance of still other systems.

A classic instance of such intercultural haoleization is seen in the imperialism by Spain of Latin America. Spanish influence was greatest where Latin American customs least existed. Spanish influences from the province of Andalusia happened to arrive earlier than Old Castile. Consequently, Andalusian customs defeated Old Castilian customs such as tying cowbells to newlyweds' mattresses (Foster 1960: 140;220).

The Imposition of the Dominant Culture

Many studies have been made of the relations between social class and education. These consider Whites versus Negroes, Whites versus Indians, a colonial power versus the colonized people, higher classes versus lower, etc. They always seem to find "that a controlling social group . . . tends to organize the educational system so as to strengthen and maintain its own position" (Henry 1960:284).

The attitude of a minority toward the dominant culture is not standardized, but varies with the historical situation. Erasmus (1968:78) argues that Mexicans in America strongly tend to reject Anglo goals, penalizing their fellows who adopt Anglo methods even if they thereby attain higher status. By contrast, Japanese in America look to the Japanese American who does succeed, even if he does so by adopting Anglo standards. Consequently, the teacher must identify the situations that her classroom ethnics deem worthy of emulation.

There is a natural tendency for a dominant culture to impose itself upon a subordinate culture, often preempting the resources otherwise available to the other. Inequality of accessibility may result.

Many times rioters want the produce, the "cargo," of the host society, but do not want the effectual procedures the host society uses to attain it. Thus, they reject long and technical schooling. Yet just such education becomes increasingly necessary to attain many of today's consultancy-type ("boffin") employments. A parallel may be found in simple societies that discover the existence of complex societies (as through wartime invasions). Despairing at the impossibility of attaining such development quickly, they imagine a messiah, and destroy what few capital goods they possess in a "cargo cult" (cf. Jarvie 1963).

It is impractical to make generalizations about anything being good for everyone. We may see an example in so simple a matter as roads. We might think, offhand, that improvement of roads would automatically help all cultures. But that is not so. Each culture has different means of utilizing roads.

Suppose, for example, the Yankees wish to make roads suitable. They will think of their own automobiles and accordingly put down hard surfaces. When this happened in a community whose dirt roads also were used by the Amish culture, it interfered with their buggies and horses. The reason is that asphalt proved too hard for their buggy springs. Consequently, Amish buggies and horses were wrecked after a mere 15 months' use (Gillin 1948:218).

The process applies not only to roads but also to education. In a complex society, such as the United States dealing with an ethnic minority, "the process of formal schooling is . . . the struggle to substitute one kind of tradition . . . for another within the mind of the child . . . " (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:18).

Since one culture often will misunderstand the values of another, and continue to favor its own, it will consider the other culture lazy. Thus, many a Yankee teacher undoubtedly considers some of the ethnic minority students lazy. In fact, however, they may be highly industrious in aiming at their own culture's goals.

The absurdity of attributing problems of social structure to individual personalities is seen if we take an entirely different situation. No doubt many Yankees consider Soviet Russia as having a 'bad' cultural system, particularly in its insistence on collective ownership. Would it not be foolish, then, to blame individual Soviet citizens for being lazy when they obey collective goals and do not have personal motivation or goals? Yet this is exactly the case! Thus a United States agricultural expert visiting Soviet Russia noticed signs that told the populace, in effect, that they were very lazy: "Each person in the United States has 102.3 kilograms of meat per year and we have only 32.3 in Russia" (Farnham 1959:34). The problem is social structure, not laxness. In similar fallacy, the Anglo teacher blames her minority students for disinterest in the mathematics of economics, etc.

Proportions in Blending the Two Cultures

The state in which two or more different types of organisms live together, whether peacefully or in rivalry, may be given the ecological name of coaction. This is "the relation or interaction that exists between individuals or kinds of organisms . . . in an ecological community and typically takes the form of cooperation, disoperation or competition" (Merriam 1961:432).

When the culture dominates another, the target society often reacts by developing rules and personalities to suit the needs for the intercultural transactions. One may emerge who feels confident in initiating interaction with high status persons, especially of the other cultures; Erasmus (1968) termed that type the entrón.

The person who operates in two cultures may react in one of several ways toward their interaction. He may have one set of values and behaviors in his home society and a second set when interacting with members of the alien culture. Ellen Ross (cited in Hickman 1968:66) termed this approach "schizocultural."

Or he may have the values and behaviors so blended that he switches from one to the other culture, expressing deepest emotions in either language. Such an approach of intermingling both streams was termed "ambicultural" by Ross.

Some of the ethnic minority probably will suffer from feeling of second class citizenship and inferior social position. Such a person follows an ethos that Erasmus (1968:71), from the example of Mexico, called encogido (bashful). He avoids high status persons and persons of the other dominant culture.

How Poly-ethnicity Affects Social Class and Education

When two cultures meet, the minority group usually does not spread itself through all classes of the dominant society. Instead, it tends to become parallel with only one or a small number of classes, and they tend to be the lower ones.

Indeed, an experiment with four cultural groups in the United States showed that "once the pattern specific to the ethnic group emerges, social class variations within the ethnic group do not alter this basic organization" (Lesser and others 1965:83). In other words, ethnic grouping is interactive with, and not a subdivision of, social class. Thus, since each ethnic group tends to assume a certain limited range of social classes within a given society, and not the entire range, the typical class of any ethnic group is given the name "ethclass" (Gordon 1964:51).

Because class is not the same as ethnicity, one's sociocultural situation requires the combination of both ethnicity and class.

Having seen that poly-ethnicity may exist in many combinations and may produce situations ranging from cooperation to genocide, we may now consider types of compromise that would seem to fit the values at least of the Anglo school administrations.

CHAPTER VII

SYNCRETISM, THE MUTUAL COMPROMISE OF CULTURES

Mutual Reconciliation of Patterns Is Syncretism

In the preceding chapter, we argued that contacting societies may interact in ways ranging from cooperation to genocide. What course should be recommended to the educationist? An interesting analysis appears in Ulibarri (1958:97). Contrasting Hispanics with Anglos, he recommended that the Mexican American youth need a new orientation toward Anglo achievement, future timing, scientificalness, desire for change, more aggressiveness, economic efficiency, universalism rather than separate localism, and modern medicine.

However, does this suggest that the Hispanic must become an Anglo? We would not wish to go that far for we believe that several cultures may be reconciled instead. (Prof. Ulibarri has also modified his opinion, as shown elsewhere in this manual.) The degree of syncretism permitted reflects not only justice, but also power, in the dealings between the two cultures affected.

"The problem of Indian education requires a decision as to how we wish to live in this country, and what our inhabitants are going to require of each other in order to have a harmonious kind of coexistence. This is more than an issue of values; it is also a matter of power. . . .

"The Amish and Hutterians, who are really, . . . very successful and independent economically, . . . have chosen--when they have been allowed to do so--to operate their own school systems" (Murray Wax 1967:68-69).

The anthropologist's fervent belief in the importance of human diversity forces him to advocate a compromise course that will allow both of the impacting cultures to prosper compatibly.

If the dominant culture is not to extinguish the minority culture, some sort of compromise must be found.

It is important that we strive to accomplish a syncretic society. Otherwise we may resemble the proverbial White teacher who turned down a request that some of the white-skinned dolls she was ordering for her class of mainly Negro children should have colored faces: "No, no, we don't want to begin any racism in this classroom!" Similarly, we remember with shame the Welsh child who, speaking his own language at school, was thrashed, fined, and stigmatized with a piece of wood (the Welsh knot) hung around his neck (Davies 1954:4).

In this section, therefore, we shall discuss mutualism and how this concept can be accomplished.

Cultural pluralism or poly-ethnicity, is the cultural level equivalent of the biological process called symbiosis. In symbiosis, or synoecism, two dissimilar organisms live together, often for mutual benefit (mutualism). The degree of interaction may vary from harming one another (compare competition), one harming the other (parasitism or predation), one benefiting from the other without providing either benefit or detriment (commensalism), or mutual benefit (mutualism).

Examples of living in mutual complementarity are common in the animal world. For example, ostriches have poorer hearing and smell than do zebras. However, ostriches, partially because they are tall, can see further. Consequently, the two species often live together.

Not All Intercultural Patterns Need Be Identical

Animals can live in a state of mutualism. This is also possible and advisable on the human level. Now, certain scholars argue that poly-ethnicity suggests weakness. In some of Arnold Toynbee's writings it is suggested that poly-ethnicity suggests the breakup of the nation. This need not be so. We can point to many cultures which are thriving because of their tolerance of multiplicity. Switzerland, for example, is divided into four ethnicities that speak French, German, Italian and Romansch. "Elsewhere in the world there have been, and there are today, societies which can be called . . . poly-ethnic and multilingual. . . . For example, . . . Yugoslavia . . . probably is smaller than Pennsylvania and . . . has within it four nationally recognized languages, not to mention about ten recognized minorities--and yet each of these nationally recognized minorities has its own school system in its own language. The same thing, or similar kind of thing, is true for . . . India. . . . I could go on and point to French Canada--Quebec--or Belgium" (Murray Wax 1967:68-69). Such bilingual societies do face communicative problems. One solution may be the selection of a principal tongue, a *lingua franca*, perhaps a pidgin. This manual will more confidently advocate *biculturalism*. It will propose methods whereby the several cultures may be reconciled with *mutual* changes, instead of each minority group becoming a pale imitation of Yankeeism. This is the philosophy called "syncretism." A list of degrees and techniques for syncretizing appears in Burger (1966:103-115). Here, a few examples of how syncretism can be accomplished are cited.

A typical way to harmonize, or syncretize, an Anglo culture with a native culture is by blending the two partially or completely. Thus, when the Anglos opened a medical building for Navajos at Many Farms, Arizona, some highly respected Navajo medicinemen were invited to dedicate the building with a native ceremony (Condie 1958:114).

Another device used to "indigenize" schools during the Bureau of Indian Affairs commissionership of John Collier was the use of native stone, exposed pine roof timbers, earth floors, and blending of building into the landscape (Condie 1958:99).

Another attempt at syncretism was accomplished upon the meeting of two ethnic groups, a European and an African. A European nutritionist seeking to teach balanced diet to Africans who were more interested in genealogy than in chemistry made an analogy to subtribal clans, all of which were readily understood as being necessary. She therefore said that protein was one clan, carbohydrates another, etc. She then asked the natives to classify common foods. They readily saw that even an item as despised as milk belonged to five different 'clans' (Fraser 1932:86).

Thus, poly-ethnicity may have many components. For example, any of the ethnic subgroups may vary its language when speaking to a different ethnic group.

In a study for the Irish government, I found that the common people in many parts of Ireland used English for business transactions, but Gaelic for cultural transactions, such as telling stories to children. This sectoring of language is called diglossia.

A classification of types of syncretism (supplementary, phasic, etc.) has been published elsewhere (Burger 1966). The general equivalent of syncretism when applied to cross-cultural education is the bicultural program. In it, the dominant culture's school system teaches not only its own but also the target society's values and behaviors. "Perhaps the most important reason for bicultural programs . . . is not international but domestic. . . . The entire history of discrimination is based on the prejudice that because someone else is different, he is somehow worse. If we could teach all our children . . . that diversity is not to be feared or suspected, but enjoyed and valued, we would be well on the way toward achieving the equality we have always proclaimed as a national characteristic" (Howe 1968:12).

Although we would wish to live in a world in which many ethnic groups lived in a mutual or syncretic state, there exist many problems, especially educational ones which are the result of unreconciled ethnic groups living together. Some ethnic patterns are more naturally tolerated than others. And industrialism, which patterned the United States, has not tolerated divergent patterns. But such tolerance and conciliation, taught in youth, can minimize inter-ethnic disharmony. There is much to the historical legend that "a band of efficient school masters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police or soldiery" (Davies 1954:3).

CHAPTER VIII

HOW INDUSTRIALISM PATTERNED THE UNITED STATES AND SPREAD FROM FACTORY TO SOCIAL LIFE

The Nature and Advantages of Industrialism

We have argued that the most successful and justifiable cross-cultural education is a syncretistic compromise. If so, it will be necessary to identify the two elements we are compromising. We must ethnographically study the dominant (here, Anglo) society and the ethnic minorities. It can be argued that a principal cultural trait of Yankee society is industrialism. Industrialism emphasizes specialization of organization, and usually machinery; hence, we may consider it similar to mass-production, mechanization, assembly lines, etc. Because it specializes and batches, it is far more economical than individualized or small quantity production.

The Spread of Industrialism Through Factories

Industrialism first flourished in Britain's Industrial Revolution two centuries ago. But that class society offered a far smaller breeding ground than the United States. A democracy, like a stamping machine, emphasizes similarities and large-scale output: "From its first appearance in the 18th century down to its later and decisive elaboration between the two World Wars, the assembly line is an American institution" (Giedion 1948:[illegible]). When mechanization encounters organic substances, it transforms them. For example, bread formerly was aged for a period of months, during which time it lost its natural creamy color and became pure white. But the timing required large warehouses and idle capital. Consequently, artificial bleaching was introduced, wherein chlorine gas was blown through tubes, instantly penetrating the whirling particles of flour dropping down through the bleaching cabinet. As a result, the process was compressed from several months to a matter of minutes. (*ibid.*, pp. 6;189).

A characteristic of industrialism is the interposition of departments and/or machinery between beginning and end, between producer and consumer. With narrow specialization, a baking company creates a title of Vice President in Charge of Fig Newtons. A rocket company establishes a job of Engineer to Prevent Interplanetary Contamination. As such bureaucracy grows, there occurs a separation between deliberation, decision, enactment, and enjoyment--in a word, between thought and feeling. Mechanization fractions interest into details, and gradually blinds the world to the value and power of integration.

The U. S. has, it is true, developed a unique service industry that extends its factories. Yet it too follows industrial patterns. A consumer coin laundry, for example, is but a ganged, polyphasic machine room. And the family photographer at Disneyland is given a booklet advising the "best" angle, film, and focus. And where industrial patterns cannot be practically applied, difficulties arise. Thus, I recently lived with a Navajo family that had two new television sets. Both were broken, and the users did not know how to procure service at their distant Cañoncito (New Mexico) reservation!

The Spread of Industrialism into Social Life

This spread of industrial patterns beyond the factory and into social life is a phenomenon this author has termed "pan-industrialism" (Burger 1961:298). We see the dehumanizing, even de-vivifying effect, of such industrial patterning as we follow the rapid spread of its dispassionate "economism" beyond the factory, whence it has been overflowing for some three generations. An example of the Yankee traits of economism and operations research and industrialism is seen in the handling of honey bees. Bees perform several services simultaneously. They pollinate flowers and their bodies synthesize honey. But there are several variables: the number of flowers, the amount of acreage, the amount of honey, the number of bees, etc. The problem of determining the most profitable proportions was given to an agriculture department of the University of California. It found that the rental of bees for the purpose of pollinating produced greater profit than did the honey. It recommended that bee owners increase by a factor of eight the number of bees released over each clover field. Consequently, these bees became deadly rivals for the limited amount of nectar. The resulting competition quintupled the fodder that blossomed per acre. It increased profit to the human owners. And the less efficient bees, producing insufficient honey, starved (Jungk 1952:149-150). Another example of such pan-industrialism is seen in livestock management. Agricultural specialists wished to increase births of pigs. Behavioral specialists found that a limiting factor in bearing litters of pigs was the duration of nursing piglets. Then they studied the problem of nursing, and found that piglets sucked milk in reaction to the mother pigs' grunts. Here, industrial thinking immediately came to their aid. Technicians tape recorded mother pigs' grunts. Then they played the tape recording at an accelerated pace. This caused the piglets to suck faster. That in turn, enabled shorter nursing periods. And the last action speeded up the breeding of pigs (ibid., p. 150).

The Spread of Industrialism into Schools

If pan-industrialism were limited to pigs, it would be one thing; but the pattern also affects children. The Anglo desire to mass-produce and to change the environment has long patterned the missions of schools.

An especially fervent period was that early in this century, when "efficiency experts" flourished. Insistent demands were heard that the educational establishment be similarly mechanized. Thus, the influential Education Professor Cubberley (1916:338) emphasized material mass-production: "Every manufacturing establishment that turns out a standard product or series of products of any kind maintains a force of efficiency experts. . . . Our schools are in a sense factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. These specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of 20th century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down." In industrialized education, one teacher's activities may be conceptualized as spraying the products (children) with mathematics, while another periodically operates a quality control station (that is, gives them examinations to identify the flawed goods). Students were to be imprinted at various stations within the school building, like iron being converted to steel in Gary, Indiana.

The "garyized" plan of moving students from unit to unit, from room to room, from teacher to teacher, is like the factory system. "Thus, a child may experience as many as ten or more activities initiated for him in a course of a normal school day, none of which is ever brought to completion. He learns early in his experience, as a result, that he is not to invest [emotionally] too heavily in any activity or subject matter" (Rosenfeld 1967:4). The industrialized school system has placed particular hardships on the ethnic minority groups, and many of them have suffered a fate approximately equal to that of the Navajo: "Children were taken to boarding schools long distances from home, given limited visiting privileges, and subjected to teachers and curricula that denied their heritage. Often they were crowded into dismal barrack-like dormitories, sternly disciplined, and emerged fit only for marginal economic life in the white world, and unfit for life on the reservation" (Fuchs 1967:84).

The concepts of industrial management have so flooded the school systems that they have become virtually taken for granted. (See the typically Yankee gridiron layout of student seating in a mass classroom, pictured in Figure 1.) The current calls for audiovisual and computerized expansion may be perceived as a natural extension of this Yankee trait of industrialism. Industrialism usually involves machinery, and requires careful planning because of the volume of output that cannot lightly be upset. Hence, industrialism tends to become rigid more than small-scale systems such as handcrafting. The culture that is patterned industrially finds itself gradually becoming precise, categorized, ranked into classes and hierarchies. It becomes difficult to tolerate diversity since the raw material must arrive in a standardized form. One sees the difference between an industrial culture and a spontaneous culture even in such matters as the dance: In an industrial culture, a most famous dance group is the precision, mass-production Radio City Rockettes; by contrast, a group of Spanish dancers may be just as precise, but their precision will be relatively spontaneous rather than regimented. When we extend this concept as pan-industrialism, we begin to understand why the United States has had so difficult a time in accommodating diversity of persons, especially in its social factories like schools. As if in self-defense, the Anglo system early began to advocate uniformity of personality. It gradually established a norm that, while conceding diversity at birth, pressured that diversity into the procrustean mold from which it could shape a uniform citizenry. Such a reduction of social and cultural diversity into assimilation was called the melting pot approach.

The result has been a curiously tensed society in which mechanical change was gladly accepted while social change was strongly resisted. While Anglos pride themselves on being able to change, it is in fact a special type of change almost exclusively that they accept progress toward instrumental efficiency; i.e., Anglos gladly accept a change from the mechanical can opener to the electric can opener. However, the type of change which allows diversity is often difficult for Anglos to accept. For example, Anglos are not likely to accept a dish of protein known to consist of fried grasshoppers. Yet such protein may be just as nutritious, and much more available, than the fluid produced chemically in the stomach of the bee--a product they gladly accept under the name of honey. It is just such diversity rather than instrumental progress that is needed if the teacher is to tolerate the ethnic minority. Let us, then, proceed to see how such an assimilatory style influenced Anglo attitudes toward teaching ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNITED STATES TREND FROM MELTING POT TO CULTURAL PLURALISM

Having sketched the belief that industrialism favors conformity, we shall now turn to the relationships among the several ethnic groups in the United States. We shall find that while the industrial fervor advocated an assimilation of all ethnic groups into a single average Yankee, in fact the "melting" went on only in the economic sector, and not completely there. There always was ethnic separation in the social sector.

The Initial Yankee Hope of a Homogeneous Melting Pot

In American history, there have been three different goal systems of assimilation, according to Gordon (1964:85 and following). These may be called "Anglo conformity," "melting pot" and "cultural pluralism." These three different viewpoints have appeared throughout American history, and not in any particular serial timing.

The Anglo conformity theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. It cuts to a norm as ruthlessly as "procrusteanism." By contrast, the melting pot idea proposed a biological merger of Anglo-Saxon people with other immigrant groups. Along with the intermarriage there would be a blending of their cultures in a new, single, native American type. Cultural pluralism favored the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship.

The Anglo conformity idea about immigrants is expressed by educator Ellwood P. Cubberly in 1909 (quoted in Gordon 1964:98): "Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups . . . and to set up here their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, . . . and to implant in their children . . . the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government."

The melting pot ethos of a new blend was seen by a European traveler as early as 1782: "He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men" (M. G. Jean De Crevecoeur, quoted in Glazer and Moynihan 1963:288).

An example of the unconscious Yankee tendency toward expecting amalgamation of every ethnic group with its own system is seen in its hyphenation approach to naming those groups. Thus, considerable discussion and reading convinces us that the layman would like to refer to a "Spanish American" rather than (as the anthropologist might) a "Hispanic." The former situation implies that the poor chap is halfway toward being assimilated, halfway toward being humanized. He is, in the melting pot analogy, "half-melted." Thus the melting pot concept is approximately that of assimilating the minority into the majority.

Although cultural pluralism, has, like the other two, appeared throughout American history, its strength is relatively the latest of the three (Gordon 1964:86). An example of the cultural pluralism approach is seen in attempts by several groups immigrating to the early 19th century United States to establish communal societies of their own (Gordon 1964:132).

The foregoing three ethoses--Anglo conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism--have been the ideologies in the United States. But what has been the actual situation?

The Continuation of Ethnic Social Structures

History does not agree with the hope of the Apostle Paul that "there should be neither Jew nor Greek. . . ." It would seem that melting pot has been closest to the fact in the economic sphere, Anglo conformity in the power structure, and cultural pluralism in the daily social life: "Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members . . . to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life cycle: (Gordon 1964:34; original italicized).

The development of ethnic specialization has been in accordance with the principle, discussed earlier, that pioneer patterns in a culture are amplified, not altered, by latter groups: "One must make a distinction between influencing the cultural patterns themselves and [merely] contributing to the progress and development of the society [within existing patterns]. It is in the latter area that the influence of immigrants and their children in the United States has been decisive" (Gordon 1964:73).

Indeed, such technology as television has probably normalized many of the dialects and behaviors that formerly distinguished Anglos--Southerners from Californians, for example. It exacerbates the problem of assimilation--or separatism--for some minorities.

According to Will Herberg in a study of general trends in contemporary America (summarized in Lenski 1961:40), the disintegration of the old ethnic subcommunities has caused Americans to perceive a growing need for some new group to serve as a reference anchor in modern society. The process of acculturation in America has been overwhelming. However, there has been little structural assimilation. Each racial and religious and national origin group has maintained its own network of cliques, clubs, organizations, and institutions. The inter-ethnic contacts occur only at the secondary group level--employment and political processes. This is not necessarily the fault of the non-Anglo groups. For it was equally the Anglo groups that debarred; the "fraternity house, the city men's club, and the country club--slammed in the face of the immigrant's offspring" (Gordon 1964:110-112). The United States incurred just such a situation. Since the non-Anglos were disadvantaged, they were forced evermore into the additional disadvantages of the Anglo poor. Many assumed an Anglo mien and derided non-Anglos. Yet, culture tends to foster intermingling of its minorities. There are few "pure" bloods in any culture after a period of settlement. Consequently, if such a student mocks other students for being culturally or racially less "pure," the teacher could make him see the narrowness of this belief by encouraging or even requiring him to investigate his own genealogy. He usually will find it more mixed than his own family "myth" argued. For example, a student believed himself to be a Potestant, a WASP. He investigated and found in fact he was descended from Irish Catholics (Landes 1965:148). The melting pot myth had been at work.

Even now, socioreligious group membership is a variable comparable in importance to class (Lenski 1961:295). The ethnic group in American society became, not a survival from the age of mass immigration, but a new social form (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:16;original italicized).

Recent Realization of the Futility of Homogenity

The result has been another case of Anglo "doublethink": imagining a melting pot while grudgingly conceding some cultural pluralism attitudes. "We have consistently failed to accept the reality of different cultures within our national boundaries. Negroes, Indians, Spanish Americans and Puerto Ricans are treated as though they were recalcitrant, under-educated, middle class Americans of northern European heritage instead of what they really are: members of culturally differentiated enclaves with their own communication systems, institutions, and values" (Hall 1966:173).

Sociological consensus suggests that the cultural separatism is intensifying rather than diminishing. ". . . The American ethos is nowhere better perceived than in the disinclination of the third and fourth generation of newcomers to blend into a standard uniform national type" (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:v).

Further evidence is provided by a 1958 statistical study of a sample of 750 residents of Detroit. Most signs pointed to gains in the vigor and vitality of religious associations. Religion was found to be having an impact on all the other institutional systems of the community. "On the basis of such comparisons we can only conclude that differences among socioreligious groups are not declining and are not likely to decline in the foreseeable future. . . . There are numerous indications that they may become more pronounced in the future. . . . Socioreligious differences are greater among members of the middle class than among members of the working class" (Lenski 1961:14-15;288-291). And such differentiation is only a part of the social categorization. Gordon (1964:26-27) found that the Yankee identifies himself in the following sequence: nationality (such as American); race (such as White or Amerindian); religion; national origin of self or ancestors (such as English or Spanish). Even if religious institutions lose members, religion remains or thrives as a rallying point of informal grouping.

From Ethnic Coexistence to Ethnic Separatism

The notion that the intense and the unprecedented mixture of ethnic and religious groups in American life was soon to blend into a homogeneous product has outlived its usefulness, and also its credibility.

Tracing the emergence of a Pan-Indian movement, Robert K. Thomas (1965:82) considered it a reaction against the extreme pressures of industrialism: "The older civilizations were agriculturally based and in the nature of the case incorporated tribal groups as whole social units and at a leisurely non-threatening pace. Modern industrial civilization, through the vehicle of the bureaucratic nation-state and its institutions, demands not only the incorporation of tribal peoples but immediate incorporation and individual assimilation. Industrial civilization individuates and attacks the solidarity of the social group. . . . The first reaction of tribes under this kind of stress is the banding together of tribal groups and a widening and bolstering of this new identity in self-defense."

One way to interpret the growing ethnic separatism is in terms of the concept of Alfred Kroeber that cultures tend to specialize to such an extent that they limit their own futures. Yankee culture is industrial, impersonal, and with all the other characteristics that distinguish it from the Hispanic and other elements within its borders. Thus, the further industrialization and automation of life further alienates and distinguishes the ethnic minorities. The period since World War II has seen a vast increase in such cybernation. Consequently, the alienation between ethnic groups would be increasing.

We cannot believe that the solution either is to reduce the automation of the Anglo part of the culture, or to automate the more personalistic ethnic minorities within that culture. Rather, we are forced to conclude that the only solution is ethnic specialization (not quite separatism) accompanied by inter-ethnic tolerance.

One of the factors typical of Yankee pattern so rapidly developing as to be causing cleavage between Yankees and minority ethnic groups is computerization. At present, it is programmed to emphasize individualism and cognition. Yet it could emphasize sociality and affect (Burger 1969).

Its fluidity now being applied to individual instruction could be broadened to allow for ethnic diversity and ethnic norms.

An example of the problems caused by poly-ethnicity is seen in the case of community action proposed in Cherokee areas. Cherokees and Whites live interspersed. However, each is a community that functions separately in a cultural way. Mere geographic nearness does not make them interact. Yet certain federal aid may, by new interpretations of legislation, be awarded on geographic, not racial bases. Consequently, if both populations were to embark on a poverty program, it is likely the Amerindians would soon withdraw, because of unfamiliarity with and dislike of Anglo methods. The result is that "programs which are seemingly integrative in intent are almost certain to be segregationary in effect" (Wahrhaftig 1966-67:73).

If the difference between the plural society and the heterogeneous society is that the former has institutions that maintain cultural differentiation at the national level, then it is believed that the United States is moving from a heterogeneous to a plural society.

The same conclusion seems to emerge from the recent analysis by the city riots investigators:

> "Three critical conclusions emerge from this analysis:
>
> 1. The nation is rapidly moving toward two increasingly separate Americas. Within two decades, this division could be so deep that it would be impossible to unite: a white society principally located in suburbs, in smaller central cities, and in the peripheral parts of large central cities; and a Negro society largely concentrated within large central cities. . . .

> 2. In the long run, continuation and expansion of such a permanent division threatens us with two perils. The first is the danger of sustained violence in our cities. . . . The second is the danger of a conclusive repudiation of the traditional American ideals of individual dignity, freedom, and equality of opportunity. . . .
>
> 3. We cannot escape responsibility for choosing the future of our metropolitan areas and the human relations which develop within them" (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:226).

The present situation in which ethnic groups are reasserting themselves suggests the situation that Arnold Toynbee (1946:463-464) described concerning the Roman Empire: "About the middle of the fourth century of the Christian Era, the Germans in the Roman service /stopped Latinizing their names and/ started the new practice of retaining their native names; and this change of etiquette, which seems to have been abrupt, points to a sudden access of self-confidence in the souls of the barbarian . . . which had previously been content to 'go Roman'. . . ."

This realization is factual. For example, W. H. Ferry, who generally has argued the liberal viewpoint favoring racial integration, recently conceded "that blacktown USA and whitetown USA will be separate cultural and social communities for as far ahead as one can see" (Ferry 1967:8-9).

Both on behavioral science grounds, and on fitting Anglo tradition grounds, then, a sound course would seem to be cultural pluralism.

The Remaining Need to Appreciate, Not Merely to Tolerate, Cultural Pluralism

According to the U. S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, "What the rioters appeared to be seeking was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than reject the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it" (1968:4). However, a paradox is presented. The same minorities that the commission sees wanting color television sets also spurns the purely intellectual types of graduate education that are one means toward obtaining such cargo.

While the Civil Disorders Commission recognized that melting pot was merely a myth, it seemed to recommend merely the effectuation of that dream (which, as we have argued, has not been and probably cannot be realized). Yet, the ethnic differences are too real, and too worthy, to be procrusteanized into the always elusive mold of a single type inhabiting America.

On moral grounds, any of the several types of biculturalism can be argued. At first sight, it may sound more "American" to teach everyone the same things. It may sound discriminatory to teach each group different things. Yet, we must for a partial answer refer to ecology and anthropology, disciplines that deal with how living species adapt themselves and succeed or fail in their field. The suggestion clearly seems to be that specialization is the order of the day.

The reader may recall that studies of animal behavior suggest the advantages of specialization rather than assimilation.

It is true that we cannot absolutely project from ecological animal species to human beings. Nevertheless, many studies of this type, both in animal kingdoms and in sociological and anthropological investigations, suggest the advantage of group specialization. In fact, there is an ecological principle which argues that there is a natural limit to the territory that any one group may cover efficiently. When it tries to cover too little, it limits its future potential. When it covers too much, it invites invasion by rival groups nibbling its borders.

The finding that groups must specialize to remain competitive is called Gause's Principle. It is related to a situation called the Competitive Exclusion Principle: "In a finite world it is impossible for species that are competitive in every respect to coexist indefinitely" (Hardin 1959:83;cf. 87).

Natural groups _are_ formed by ethnic groups. The answer would seem to be not only occupational specialization, but also a proud elaboration of one's ethnic customs.

We all have, for example, noticed that a disproportionately high percentage of police forces appear to be Irish, at least in some of the larger Eastern cities. Certainly it is no slur to observe this demographic fact. This does not mean that Irishmen are born with special genes that biologically guide to policing! Rather, it suggests that their cultural traditions even when they are a minority within the Anglo population, emphasize such traits as the ability to reconcile arguments and many other factors necessary for the police force.

The traditions that would enable such specialization are equally in Anglo culture, although less obvious than the melting pot tradition which really opposes it. "The very essence of American culture is that it is pluralistic--it allows people with different values and behaviors to intermingle. . . . However, this advantage is nullified unless this society is constructed to allow these subcultures to express themselves" (Hodgkinson 1962:127-128).

The desire for poly-ethnicity (rather than for melting pot) continues. An interview with 25 different organizations in the United States concerned with cultural and ethnic problems revealed that almost all favored "cultural pluralism." A somewhat typical definition was: "The right and value of diverse cultures working on the things they wished to, as long as those cultural facets did not impinge on others. The right of diverse cultures to exist side-by-side and to preserve whatever they wish as long as they did not interfere with the rights of others" (Gordon 1964:16-17).

Kenneth Marshall (1967:141-142) has emphasized this approach by arguing the need for organizational steps. (While his sociological orientation stresses 'the poor,' we would anthropologically extend it to 'ethnic minorities.')

> The poor [he declared] must have organized for them or by them, cooperatives of commercial and community service corporations, such as day centers, credit union, coffee shops, street academies, etc. To some extent, this approach resembles that of 'ethnic self-government.'

Ethnic Mixture Within Institutions

In a mixed ethnic society such as the United States, some institutions are more mixed than others. Gordon (1964:37) reports this picture for the United States at present:

Institution	Amount of Assimilation
political	mostly mixed
economic	mostly mixed, with significant exceptions
education	quite mixed, but influenced by parochial school separation and social activities segregation
religion	ethnically enclosed
family	ethnically enclosed
active recreation*	ethnically enclosed
passive recreation and entertainment	mostly mixed

*[Probably not to be confused with organized sports, where skill outweighs ethnicity.]

The Relationship of Coexistence Policy to Schooling

The decision on melting pot or poly-ethnicity greatly affects the type of schooling that should be given.

The question thus becomes one of providing all cultures in the U. S. with an equal *opportunity* rather than merely with equal *treatment*, as Harry Saslow has noted (Stevens 1968:13).

If we believe in melting pot, then we should teach every person the same types of skills and culture.

If, however, we believe in poly-ethnicity, we should identify the traditional strengths of each group, both cognitive, affective, and psychomotoric. Then we should notice whether the economic opportunity, which the behavioral scientist might call "ecological niches," will remain steady, increase, or decrease. We would, according to this second doctrine, teach these specializations to each ethnic group differently as long as they will either persist or increase.

Yet the same paradox appears in both general inter-ethnic relations and inter-ethnic schooling policy. The more one assimilates, the more he crushes ethnic pride and specialization. The more he separates, the more he can be accused of prejudicial discrimination.

What degree of commonality must remain? We know of no sure answer, but would expect that within the United States there would generally supervene a common language and a common market. Mass communication and transportation will not be rolled back. Rather, the encouragement of ethnic diversity in such areas as vocations would, we believe, provide greater security for the single national government than the present procrustean fester.

That the school educational system must broaden its view from mere facts of curriculum to social climate is foreseen in the 1967 report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (discussed by Orr and Pulsipher 1967a:56-58). It finds that equal achievement is obtained only by sociocultural integration, and not merely by compensatory education held as a sort of special "hothouse." For example, it finds that "Negro children in predominately White schools usually score higher on achievement tests than children in majority Negro schools, even when the children in majority Negro schools are receiving compensatory education" (*ibid*.).

The reasons are social: "When disadvantaged children are racially isolated in the schools, they are deprived of one of the more significant ingredients of quality education: exposure to other children with strong educational backgrounds. . . .

"Another strong influence on achievement derives from the tendency of school administrators, teachers, parents, and the students themselves to regard ghetto schools as inferior. Reflecting this attitude, students attending such schools lose confidence in their ability to shape their future" (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:238).

Anthropology doubts that mere sociality, as from bussing students, would cure the complex problem. The melting pot succeeds only in some sectors. It is time to build on rather than suppress ethnic specialities.

The exact solutions may have to vary with the ecological situation. For example, it is easy to understand that the Rough Rock Demonstration School (Chinle Post Office, Arizona), a center of Navajo revitalism, has arisen near the center of the remote Navajo reservation. At the same time, the Navajos going to an all-tribal school in a relatively large city (Albuquerque, New Mexico, Indian School) receive proportionately less training in cultural pluralism.

We believe that the trend is toward poly-ethnicity, or cultural pluralism. We believe that time will convince more members of each ethnic minority that they cannot fully attain the core of the Anglo 'style of life' (including all of its material benefits). Instead, they should proudly elaborate their own ethnic heritage, not a reactionary "back-to-the-blanket" retreat but a syncretism that enables their specialities to interweave with the complex mid-20th Century life. The fluid, protean nature of the computer could facilitate such diversity--if the school establishment would accredit diversity.

Consequently, the evidence is strongly suggestive, although not conclusive, that education should train people for their ethnic 'efflorescences,' providing that those specialities are likely to continue in the future and that the individuals are willing to study them and do not wish to change from their traditional kin network of occupation.

In accordance with the concept of specialization, it may well be possible to teach a common core of subject matter, such as language, and then to go on and teach an ethnic speciality. This speciality need not be degrading, but may simply be traditional. It is not mere handiwork, but a cultural heritage including great literature, human relations, and so on. Such an approach suggests that domination of the educational establishment within the ethnic geographical areas will increasingly pass to the most competent leaders of minorities.

The attitude of minority group toward control of its own schools is seen in the different terms applied by the Navajos: Apparently they feel so far away from control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools that they refer to them as "washingdon bi oltka," which means "Washington schools." Even the public schools on the Navajo Reservation are similarly considered lost from their control, as it would appear from their name for them: "bibagaha bi oltka" means, "little White man's schools." By contrast, the Rough Rock school, whose board of directors are themselves Navajos, is commonly called "nine bi oltka," means "the school of the Navajo people" (Roessel 1967:80-81).

If, then, the cultural minorities are to play an increasing role in education, we must consider systematically the factors in which one culture may differ from another.

CHAPTER X

THE ETHNIC VARIABLES, TO BE MODIFIED FOR CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION

If each culture is to be appreciated and utilized rather than melted, we must identify what distinguishes it from its neighbors.

Categorizations have also been attempted. The Human Relations Area Files (Murdock 1961) has attempted a 1,000-number decimal system for filing details of a given culture; thus, under class 548 is filed all information about its "Organized Vice." Approximately 40 of these have been found critical, in the opinion of a recent tabulation (Murdock 1967), such as "Column 37: Male Genital Mutilations."

If we are careful not to confuse attitude with behavior (Deutscher 1966), we may rather easily categorize ethnic differences in attitudes.

One way of distinguishing cultures is, then, by their "value orientations"--the ranked principles, involving both cognition, affect and directive elements, that give order to acts and thought relating to the solution of problems. Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961) (discussed in Tefft 1967:149-50) found from statisticizing the results of interviews with several cultures living in the same (U.S.A. Southwest) area that these could be resolved into a small number of variables. They are: The relation of man to nature (mastery over nature; subjugation to nature; or harmony with nature), Time (past, present or future), Space, Social relations (lineality, collaterality, individuality), The modality of human activity (spontaneity versus causation), The character of innate human nature (goodness or badness).

Building on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, we categorize ethnic differences, respectively, as Prometheanism, timing, spacing, sociality, transitivity, and ethics. Probably each can be expressed cognitively, affectively, or psychomotorically.

Since there are so many sectors to culture, and since they are intertwined, it would be naive to think that a change in any one sector could alone be effected, or could revolutionize all the other deep-seated aspects of culture. We can, therefore, only smile at the lack of cross-cultural understanding offered by those whose pedagogy is designed within a single society. Bereiter and Engelmann, for instance, (1966:42), declare that "there is justification for treating cultural deprivation as synonymous with language deprivation."

If this dictum applies within a single culture, such as Anglos teaching Anglos, it may be satisfactory, since the environment of (say) Anglo social organization constantly pressures the child toward learning appropriate language. But if they mean that language change alone can "Yankeefy" a non-Anglo child, their opinion does not fit that of the cultural science.

Another way of distinguishing cultures is looking into their attitudes toward learning. Each culture teaches not only habits of speaking and seeing, but even attitudes toward learning, such as whether learning is valuable, and what types of learning (like memory, book, experience) are desirable. Bateson (1942:125) called this second level of learning by the term "deutero learning."

Many of the non-Anglo societies with which the Anglo educational system must deal are those that are described by David Riesman as "tradition-directed." They are relatively unchanging, and insist on more conformity than in the Anglo culture, for they have a smaller number of specialities. The culture minutely controls behavior and ritual. Since they are in balance with nature, rather than (like the Anglos) trying to master nature, they generally do not look for new solutions except for problems that are obviously pressing. A high rate of child death, for example, may be considered as a natural situation, whereas the Anglos consider it as something to be eliminated by medical research. On the other hand, lest the fatalistic attitude seem to be foolish, let us point out that the cultures which are not in balance with nature, such as the Anglo, always seem to be running into self-made conflict. For example, with the advances of medical research on old age, there arises a surplus of older people who have a physiological existence but not much social existence!

The Yankee concentration on learning by youth is not universal. Among some groups, probably including the Murngin of Australia, there is a hierarchy of rites that can occur throughout a man's life to increase his status constantly. Accordingly, each culture has its own opinion as to the age in which its citizens should learn various things. We cannot explain these differences purely on physiological grounds. For example, the Yankees, who consider themselves to be entirely scientific, have apparently believed that the child should not be taught until five or six, and even such more complicated matters such as reading and writing should be later. Yet, the East European Jewish Shtetl School begins reading and writing at the age of three (Henry 1960:290). (The success of prodigy programs plus Head Start classes has probably recently reduced the mythically ideal Yankee beginner age.)

Now let us consider the ethnic variables more systematically. We will first look at the aspects of cognition vs. affect vs. psychomotion. Then there follows a discussion of ethnic differences in language, body motion, and other semiotics. Finally, we shall cover time, space, social organization, ethics, causality, and the sense of environmental control, which is Prometheanism.

CHAPTER XI

ETHNIC VARIABLES: DOMAINS OF COGNITION VERSUS AFFECT VERSUS PSYCHOMOTION

Because the human intertwines brain and body, it is difficult to categorize cultural activities separately from any human activities. We use as expedient the oft-cited, but dimly substantiated, division of the human domains into cognition (the intellectual function), affect (the emotional function), and psychomotion (the motor skills function).

Another way of describing the domains in which cultures can differ is to call them by the special words that limit them to ethnicity. Then, ethnic cognition becomes "eidos." Ethnic affect may become equivalent to "ethos." I do not know of any single word for ethnic psychomotion. A few special remarks about each of the domains may now be given.

Cognition

Simpler cultures tend to lack "training situations" so common to complex cultures like the United States. For example, repeating the multiplication table is such a training situation. But the training situations evoke only motor practice or perceptual (cognitive) practice. They tend to ignore affect and motivation. Hence simpler cultures, relating learning as of hunting techniques to true environmental needs, are able to capitalize on such interest and motive (Fortes 1938:28).

Many social scientists believe that Anglo culture emphasizes cognition and de-emphasizes affect and psychomotion, as compared with other cultures. "The demand that is being made on the schools . . . is, also, a demand that they produce a certain variety of human being--abstract, theoretical, rational, and hence, deracinated--the academic man writ large" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:12). Indeed, so great is the Anglo emphasis upon cognition that one of the derogatory words used by certain minority groups about the Anglo is to call him "Bigbrain."

Yet, even with the differing emphases accorded to cognition, there are unconscious interpretive differences. The fact that Westerners (Europeans and Americans) tend to interpret perceptions (straight lines, musical sounds, etc.) differently from other cultures is rather scientifically validated in a study by a team combining psychologists and anthropologists (Segall and others 1966): In one experiment, two lines were drawn of equal length. The first one had tips that extended beyond the shaft. The second had tips that overhung the shaft.

Westerners tended to interpret these purely mathematical figures in terms of their own "carpentered" world. The Westerners thus would be misled by the straight-line tips, and would tend to imagine the line extending further in space. Hence, they would misinterpret such lines as longer than those which had the tips overhanging the shafts. But many other cultures, living nearer to nature, which lacks such purity of straight line, would tend to interpret them abstractly. They would perceive the two lines to be identical.

Controlled experiments for approximately 1,900 adults and children from a dozen ethnic groups around the world were made on this matter. Cultural differences were indeed found. For example, the Suku children of the Basuku-Basonde, Congo Republic, erred an average of only 2.0

illusions each. Evanston (Illinois) children, by contrast, erred an average of 5.6 times. Through sophisticated statistical analysis, the scientists were fairly well able to trace these differences (the Müller-Lyer Illusion) to differences in experience (especially landscape and artifacts), and not to racial (genetic) differences (Segall and others 1966:87;122). Even cognition, then, depends on the culture.

Affect

The amount and style of affect also differ among ethnicities. Because Anglo dominance structures the educational system toward cognition, the exotic-culture child is put at a disadvantage. His schooling situation is 'drily' incomplete as compared with his 'better' balanced home and community. He loses interest in the classroom.

Therefore, the teacher must be willing to be emotional toward the minority child more often than toward an Anglo child; for example, by cuddling the child. If she feels uncomfortable in doing this, or if she does not yet know the child well enough to have the child's trust, she can utilize other ethnic minority people at her school. For example, a teacher in one school (Carrillo 1968) found that an important function of the lunchroom cooks was just to provide such emotional rapport with the Hispanic children: When a child was worried about something, he would not confide in his (Anglo) teacher, but would wait until lunchtime. Not only was the cook Hispanic in culture, but she ha[illegible] other characteristics that resembled the child's beloved mother; for example, she wore an apron! School emphasis on cognition needs enrichment, then.

Similarly, in observing eight hours of planned, academic ceremonies at Albuquerque [New Mexico] Indian School, I noted only one highly enthusiastic event--the *spontaneous* singing of some Apache Amerindian songs! To non-Anglos, pure thinking is only a part of life.

Psychomotion

Anglo culture seems to confuse psychomotor skill with merely manual labor like hod carrying, and so downgrades it. Most other cultures distinguish skill from toil, and award prestige at least for the former--weaving, precise bodily movements in games, etc. Young Sioux Amerinds, for example, possess "fine personal sensibility, the brilliance of their singing, the virility of their dancing, their exuberant vitality. . . . We vividly recall one occasion in which we stepped from a powwow that was distinguished by the most exciting singing and dancing, into a classroom where some well-meaning [Anglo] teacher was leading [Amerindian] children through the familiar, dreary, off-tune rendition of a nursery song. Later, members of this staff were to talk with us about what they were [condescendingly] doing for these 'culturally deprived' children" (R. Wax and M. Wax 1968:12).

But non-Anglo cultures often go to lengths to reward psychomotion. Thus, to encourage a baby to walk, the Chagga of Tanganyika, Africa, give him "pleasure in stamping his feet so that he may become steady on his legs." And they do this simply by tying little bells to his ankles (O. F. Raum, quoted in Henry 1960:277).

Again, enrichment can readily be attained. For example, 14 Amerindian games are detailed in Chavez and Lopez (1966), based on books by Allan MacFailan, Nina Millen, and Edith Stow.

The Proportions Between Cognition, Affect, and Psychomotion

It would seem that the more complex cultures, and especially the Northern European cultures (including the United States), distinguish the three domains more than most other societies. They simultaneously tend to favor cognition over affect and psychomotion.

By contrast, many non-Anglo societies seek a balance of all human capabilities. "In a folk society, the child would have to master a great variety of particular bits of knowledge, concerning particular persons, topographic features, rites, skills, and so on. . . . /By contrast, the typical Anglo/ urban school is oriented toward instilling a knowledge that is abstract, general, and in some sense,'rational,' and, thereby, deracinated" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:18). The obsession with cognition has, of course, worsened since the Sputnik satellite panicked the Yankees into mathematics and subsocial science.

It is in this imbalance between the domains of learning capacity, and the irrelevance to minority living of much of the cognitive content, that we may find one explanation of ethnic minorities' disenchantment with Yankee education. For example, a study of Sioux Amerindian high schoolers (R. Wax and M. Wax 1964:56) suggests that many or most of those who drop out simply cannot endure the 'excessively' cognitive part of high school. Particularly when restricted for some minor offense from movies, town or other "affective" aspects of life, they abandon the school career entirely. (By contrast, most of the Sioux high school girl dropouts who were studied, left because they were unable to tolerate their social disadvantages. They felt embarrassed in ragged or unfashionable dress. But costume, too, is not directly related to intellect!)

If this is the case, an obvious solution for cross-cultural teachers would be to increase affective and psychomotoric parts of education, whether by adding separate periods (devoted, say, to dance), or by incorporating them with cognition. In the second method, an instance might be a teacher's converting a purely verbal description of (say) social history at the time of the Navajo Long March into a painting class whereby students would illustrate the trek by studying and depicting the correct clothing styles, distance of average tribesmen from leaders, range of tools carried, etc. Thereby, non-Anglo cultures' balance could be restored.

Continuing to consider the elements in which cultures may differ, we now move from domains (cognition versus affect versus psychomotion) to communication.

CHAPTER XII

ETHNIC VARIABLES: COMMUNICATION

The Choice of Senses Usable for Communication

Having discussed cognition vs. affect vs. psychomotion, we turn to the problem of communicating. Immediately we find that each has its counterpart. Cognition corresponds to the purely symbolic aspect of language, affect corresponds to emotion that is transmitted, and psychomotion corresponds to gesturing.

Each culture favors a system proportion of the senses: so much vision, so much hearing, etc. Such a sensory budget has been called a "sensotype." And the science of the interrelation of all types of communication is sometimes called "semiotics."

Now, many Anglo-type psychological tests are designed for one or another sensation, such as the "visual encoding test." Therefore, the application of an identical test to Anglos and other populations would give basic data on which senses are used in which proportions. A number of such tests have now been administered to Navajo, Pueblo, and rural Hispanic by Garber (ms.). However, as is true in all science, description does not necessarily lead to prescription. There is always a gap between pure reportage, applied science and economical implementation, according to Henry A. Hatfield's law of implemental innovation (Bass and Burger 1967:26-27).

In a present case, we may apply Hatfield's law as follows: Knowing that a certain culture is strong in certain modalities of sensation, and weak in others, we have two ways in which to proceed. If we wish the target pupils to enter the mainstream of Anglo life--which probably means to become assimilated as Anglos--then we would want to pressure them to adopt the same proportion of senses as Anglos use. (Generally, Anglos tend to favor vision.)

However, anthropologists might argue a different goal, hence a different course. We would say that since no one culture is or should be superior to another, there are not sensory-modality "deficits," but "differences." We would probably recommend syncretism of contacting cultures (such as Anglo upon Hispanic), rather than force one to become identical with the other. If this is the case, then we should instead utilize these sensory findings to reproduce the ratio in which the target culture is already strong. For example, if we find that a target culture is very strong in sense of hearing, and weak in the sense of vision, then we have an ethical obligation to readapt Anglo visual teaching methods to that exotic culture's auditory methods. This contrast between the psychological and anthropological approaches would seem to lend itself to longitudinal (=diachronous) controlled testing.

Dialects and Styles

While in fact there are many dialects and other sociocultural distinctions among the inhabitants of the United States, melting pot philosophy tends to deny them. It is suggested instead that existing dialects be used as a channel toward the goal, such as "English as a second language."

A similar tolerance concerns vocabulary, etc., involving social class. The American view of the relations between people is egalitarian; there is an avoidance of addressing people by certain polite forms, an avoidance of respectful gestures such as bowing and saluting. Other cultures, especially the Japanese, believe that this shows extreme disrespect, and threatens the very foundations of life (compare Hall 1959:104). The school need not suppress minority culture styles.

Gesturing

Para-linguistic forms also differ among ethnicities. Navajo gestures and motions are sustained, flowing, and circular, in contrast to Anglos' angular and staccato motions (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:43-44). There are ethnic differences in eye behavior; an example is seen between Yankees and Englishmen: The proper Yankee looks straight in the eye at a person with whom he is speaking only when he wants to be very certain that he is being understood. Normally, however, the Yankee lets his gaze wander from one eye of the partner he is speaking to the other. His gaze even leaves the face of the partner for long periods.

By contrast, the Englishman, normally standing farther away, looks straight at the partner, never bobbing his head or grunting. Instead, he indicates that he understands by occasionally blinking his eyes (Hall 1966:134).

But again ethnic differences need not be suppressed in the name of efficiency. The fact that Anglos tend to look one another in the eye need not prevent learning by ethnicities which do not have this habit. There are still other ways of observing. The Anglo deaf, for example, are taught in part by looking at the mouth of a speaker. It would seem that the Amerind could be taught to look at the mouth of his teacher in classes requiring such precision, such as linguistics, and still not look her in the eye. Hence he could obey the pattern of many--Amerinds, for example--to be courteous by avoiding direct eye glances.

Sound and Language

In some Amerindian groups, a perfectly accepted social visit emphasizes mere physical presence, and not necessarily speech, particularly where one has nothing new to report. Consequently, it is an acceptable social visit to come to a person's house, sit silently for half an hour, and leave still silent (Hymes 1961:60).

For many white teachers, speaking loudly and directly is a normal cultural trait. However, Mesquaki Fox Amerindian children near Toma, Iowa, interpret those behaviors as the teacher's being angry (Hymes 1961:59).

Again, the use of a loud voice means anger among many Amerindian groups, but may mean normality among many Hispanics. We thereby find that even loudness is not subject only to physical needs in communication.

Communication and Vocabulary

The "typical" unilingual Anglo six year old has had several years of continuous practice in hearing, via his parents and neighbors, thousands of speech patterns in the English language. He has an understanding (listening) vocabulary of about 9,000 English words and a speaking vocabulary of about 6,000 (Zintz 1963:13).

In the foregoing report, we assume a single culture, which minimizes interference between the sectors such as child, parents, school, and community. But if we perceive the problems of communication modes within a single culture, how much more complex must they be when used between cultures, as in an inter-ethnic teaching situation!

Language and Social Situation

The relationship between knowledge of a word and its social usage is seen in many studies; Eells (cited elsewhere) showed that lower class children failed to identify words such as 'harp.' We may reasonably assume that the ghettos are not filled with people playing harps. Again, many a Puerto Rico student considers a school examination so formal as to deserve an ornate and allusive style of answer. But the Anglo teacher will often consider such a style as an attempt to conceal ignorance (Hymes 1961:61).

As another example of the relationship between vocabulary, grammar, and social situation, we are reminded of an experiment performed by New York Medical College through the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Testers found categorizable clusters of words that lower class four year old Negroes could not identify: action words like 'building'; rural words such as 'bee'; substantive words such as 'caboose' (John and Goldstein 1964:268). Hence schools cannot teach 'pure' language without considering social class and ethnic derivation.

Bilingualism

The belief that all persons in the United States speak English is quite false. Approximately 11% of the population are native speakers of European languages other than English alone (Joshua A. Fishman, cited in Belliaeff 1966:76). And even for the much larger per cent who hear a non-English tongue at home, its emotional impact is great.

Some years ago--probably in the 1950's--Margaret Mead (quoted without source in Hawthorn 1958:305) reported the bulk of evidence then to the effect that "a basic condition of successful literacy . . . is that it should be attained in the mother tongue. Literacy achieved in any language other than the mother tongue is likely . . . to remain superficial and incomparable with the literacy of people who learned to read in the language in which their mother sang them to sleep." Using that mother tongue offers rich opportunities for motivating children. Some of the basic studies on bilingualism, together with the then somewhat inclusive data about it, appear in Tireman (1948).

We have now seen how language, body motion, and other semiotics can differ greatly between cultures, and can be easily misinterpreted by a person of another culture. We are ready to consider the similarity and diversity between ethnic groups in the matter of use of time.

CHAPTER XIII

ETHNIC VARIABLES: TIMING

Vast differences occur in ethnic attitudes toward time. These may be partially, but only partially, related to methods of subsistence. Thus, in agriculture, or at least pre-artificialized agriculture, the weather could not be hurried. Why, then should agriculturists require precision or even speed up in such matters as training children?

The impact of a differently oriented culture brings confusion. "In Latin America, for example, where time is treated rather cavalierly, one commonly hears the expression, "Our time or your time?", "¿*Hora americana, hora mejicana*?" (Hall 1959:28).

By contrast, industrialism requires that each specialist be at his station at the moment an assembly line delivers a part.

Time becomes "economized" as a saleable commodity.

In Hispanic culture, the "Latino" system involves unmeticulous appointments with individuals. Transactions are more of sociability than of commodities. Thus, a person may run his business by inviting people at an indefinite time and dealing with them collectively and generally rather than individually. But this system works (for example, with a Hispano), because "people who came to do business with him also came to find out things and to visit each other." Consequently, the successful "Latino" office may often have 15 or more people in the waiting room (Hall 1959:29).

The temporal differences that pervade a culture also pervade its maturing of citizens. In a simpler culture, education does not usually involve time pressure. Equipment seems to be adequate. The object of instruction, such as a fishnet, is always available, and the teachers seem always to know their subject matter. On the other hand, there may be a great deal of stereotyping, such as designating persons who are outside their tribe as "nonhuman."

In a complex culture, especially Yankee, a pupil is limited in what he may learn from the teacher by the fact that the teacher often rushes through the lessons. She also often lacks adequate equipment, teaches about things that are often remote to her and to the pupil either in space or time or both. And she teaches subjects in which she herself is weak in knowledge. "It is more difficult for a child to learn in this culture than in nonliterate cultures" (Henry 1960:294).

Yet there are many ways to accommodate ethnic differences in time schedule. Generally, the representatives of the culture that tends to be first or prompt should bring material that will take an indefinite amount of time. Then they will not be anxious to press those who are late or irregular. Thus, if an Anglo has made an appointment to visit a Hispanic at a certain time, such as a teacher to meet the parent of one of her Hispanic school children at a certain place and time, she should bring reading material so that she will not be angry if the other person arrives, say, 25 minutes late. We do not say that either promptness or laxness is superior. We merely suggest that "buffer" devices be used as syncretisms.

The precision of second hands correlated with a global Greenwich Mean Time, is then, an illusion. Timing is determined not by the impersonal sun and stars, but by cultures. And, as we shall see, so is the use of space.

CHAPTER XIV

ETHNIC VARIABLES: SPACE

Intimate, Personal, Social, and Public Distance

The amount of space needed by a person is not absolute. It varies both with the function being performed in that distance, and with the cultural norms for such a function. For example, an animal will flee most strangers at a small distance, whereas it may be exploratory at a greater distance.

For humans, the anthropologist Edward Hall (1966:110-120) has distinguished four types or degrees of spacing, with a close and a distant phase for each. (It should be noted that the real amounts [of inches and feet] normalized for each of these four functions probably varies from culture to culture.)

The spacing, called "intimate distance--close phase," is used for such activities as wrestling and lovemaking. It varies from zero to about six inches in the Anglo culture. The "intimate distance--far phase" is used for such purposes as maintaining one's boundaries in a crowded bus.

The "personal distance" has a close phase of from one and one-half to two and one-half feet; it is the small protective sphere or bubble that a person maintains between himself and others when he is not in a particularly crowded situation. The "personal distance--far phase" begins, in Anglo culture, at two and one-half feet, and ends at four feet; it is the limit of physical domination.

Social distance has a close phase that runs from four to seven feet in Anglo culture. Herein, impersonal business is conducted, as by people who work together frequently, or are attending a casual social gathering. The far phase of social distance runs from seven to twelve feet in Anglo culture. Business and social contact at this distance is more formal. Thus, the desk of an executive is designed to blend with the office architecture to preserve a distance of about this magnitude.

Public distance runs, in its close phase, from 12 to 25 feet in Anglo culture. In this situation, the person may if necessary take evasive or defensive action if threatened. He must use a loud but not full-volume voice. And the far phase of public distance is 25 feet or more. Such a distance is the "bubble" around public figures. But it may be used by anyone on public occasions, such as one who wishes to remain a stranger from the person he is interacting with (Hall 1966:110-120).

Ethnic Variation in Space Functions and Measurements

The foregoing system gives functions and measurements for space in the Anglo system. It is certain that the measurements vary in other cultures, and it is probable that even the functions vary. The Spanish concept of space (*lugar*) is, for example, somewhat like the more limited Yankee idea of "a place" (*lugar*) (Hall 1959:193).

The ethnic differences in spacing may be interwoven with far subtler values. Let us consider, for example, the type called "intimate distance." To some cultures, the bodily boundary is exactly the physical body. To other cultures the boundary includes both body, prestige, former parts of the body, etc. Thus, in some primitive cultures, the clippings from finger nails are secretly buried, so as to prevent an enemy's stealing and hexing them. But before we mock such "crude" practices, let us remember that in Anglo culture, the bodily boundary often includes the name or the prestige of a person. For example, we have strong penalties for impersonation. In still other cultures, the boundary includes even the image of an individual. Consequently, when I visited Rough Rock Demonstration School, and asked permission of a group of basketweavers to take their pictures, several fled. For, in their belief system, taking a picture may imprison part of the soul.

Pupil attitudes toward bodily boundaries influenced other concepts such as of cleanliness. Thus in an East Los Angeles slum, Mexican American adolescent girls were refusing to shower for gymnasium workouts. Yet dry clothing changes would cause body odors disruptive to later classes. How, then, could the principal make classrooms habitable? He seemed to perceive that Yankee sex shame standards are sex-wide, but those of Hispanics are bounded more personally. Consequently, the Mexican girl would not expose her body to her fellow female students. The remedy then was clear: the principal compartmentalized the gang showers. With the boundary reduced, each girl readily bared herself (elaborated from Landes 1965:71). And the recent trend toward stand-up waterclosets for males and/or females, will also demand ethnic, and not merely mechanical, syncretism.

These potential and actual variations can be utilized broadly in improving education. For the perception of space depends not on absolute sensation, but on feedback of the senses. Consequently, any change can be made or maneuvered by the directed cultural changer (such as inter-ethnic teacher) between the time a transaction occurs, and the time that the child's senses receive it.

For example, space can appear to be increased by the delay of the time of response. This can be done by absorbing or indirectly reflecting sensation. Acoustic ceiling is one device that absorbs sound, hence makes a room seem larger because echoes are delayed or consumed.

In the case of light, however, a different principle seems to pertain: Whatever is bright and whitish seems larger than whatever is dull and dark. Consequently, bright paint would make a room or a fixture seem larger. A high noise level or low illumination will ordinarily bring people closer together. Distance in elevators can be increased by fixing one's eyes on infinity. People may remain physically close without social involvement by sitting back to back (Hall 1966:110-116). Hence even space is no Newtonian absolute, but a creature of culture. And ethnic governance increases as we turn from "physical" factors to concededly human factors like social organization.

CHAPTER XV

ETHNIC VARIABLES: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Human Range from Atomism to Groupness

The human baby is dependent on other humans (and especially a mother) for longer than any other infant animal. "Wolf babies" seem to be either mythical or irreversibly dehumanized. An equivalent dependence on one's fellows is probably true of human adults also.

Despite this vast interdependence, the value of independence is so quaintly strong among the Yankees that it pervades their educational system: "The modern school system is premised on the notion that its population is an aggregate of social atoms, among whom there are no significant or permanent linkages. . . . These social atoms begin at the same starting line and they move onward in haphazard clumps, each . . . according to its own inner strengths and motives. What each individual does in school, and later, in his vocation, is an achievement--benefit only to himself and his immediate family. Contrary to this ideology is the normative system of a folk community. . . . In this system the individual may excel only when his excellence enhances the position of his brethren" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:4). Folk consensus is more prevalent in the non-Anglo cultures. A similar method of group decision, in which suggestions are slowly made by various participants, and a consensus gradually develops, is noted in a small town in Mexico (Foster 1967:174). Social organization begins with the family and works outward to other kin.

Kinship

Kinship refers to that type of society that is based around family ties. The center or nucleus of a family will of course be the parents and the children, with aunts, uncles, etc., being the more distant branch of the family. The family in English-speaking countries once equalled kindred. In northwestern Europe it includes all the people related to ego through blood or marriage, traced bilaterally and equally through both sexes to an infinite degree. Such relatives are considered measurably close or distant. If close, marriage between them is forbidden. The closest relatives are those within the nuclear family that is isolated from other members of the family as a whole. This type of grouping particularly fits the great mobility and small residences of modern America, although it is an old Anglo-Saxon form. The system produces atomism and egalitarianism. Each individual upon marriage makes a unique family. Only a part of it is the same as his closest relatives' family. He is individualized. His children inherit property equally (Edmonson 1967:47-55).

In such a "nuclear family" situation, there is separation, not continuity, between the generations. The Anglo, indeed the Occidental, thus enjoys a greater degree of privacy and secrecy than the members of most nonliterate societies. He excludes his children from grown up social occasions and from much adult religious observance, and, indeed, even excludes them from the world of work (Stenhouse 1967:4).

Let us contrast that Anglo-Saxonism with other systems. The English family only slightly coincides with the Spanish concept called familia. Both terms refer to an indefinitely extended group of bilaterally traced blood relatives. In the English concept, however, relatives by marriage are vaguely and ambiguously considered kin. But the Spanish system refers to primarily patrilineal inheritance of surnames. The Anglo social organization thereby minimizes family and kin, and substitutes "rational" or "instrumental" associations, such as fellow members of one's profession. By contrast, most other cultures enlarge their social organization via kinship.

Interest in kinship is not to be confused with talkativeness about kinship. The Pueblos, for example, know a great deal of information about kinship and clans. But according to educationists working closely with the Eastern Pueblos, they "are extremely secretive about such private affairs" (Buenabenta 1966:question 45).

Kinship Extended Throughout a Society

Since non-Anglo cultures tend to value and to extend kinship, they find ready-made helpers in many areas of life. There is not the precise distinction between relations and voluntary associates--an overlap that Anglos condemn as "nepotism."

Kin are lifetime associates, whereas voluntary-associates may relate only briefly. Hence kinship societies tend to perform with less formality. An example of the way in which some ethnic groups make decisions informally rather than in the formal Anglo way is shown in a case of the Cherokee Amerindians in Adair County, Oklahoma. As the population grew, its members began to spread toward settlements on each side of them. Soon tensions were arising as to which family-church deserved participation.

It gradually became "evident" that the evolving group was sufficiently big and related to found its own church. This idea was proposed by four Cherokees who happened to chat at a crossroad. Soon each of them was talking casually to other people. By chance they met again. They proposed that they form a committee to acquire land for a church. They did so. Then they called the community to build a building. Everyone appeared and worked, voluntarily and without pay. And within a week, the church was finished. From an example such as this, we see that certain ethnic groups do indeed make society-wide decisions, but without the machinery, coercion, and formality of Anglo-type institutions (Wahrhaftig 1966-67:64-65).

Such group-wide decision may gradually separate from kinship. In voluntary organizations, or sodalities, family ties have been replaced by the overall disassociation of family members as a group. Business, education, etc., have been taken over by the sodality.

Whether as kindred or as sodality, social organization must integrate the growing child. Complex cultures such as the U. S. tend to separate social/cultural developments from physiological/psychological development by not expecting the child to be as immediately responsible in life, as opposed to a simpler culture, such as the Tale, which thrusts responsibility on the child much earlier in life. For example, a sixteen year old girl there is not only physiologically mature, but is married, is performing economic duties, and is socially responsible (Fortes 1938:23). There is a natural training pattern.

Adapting Classroom to Native Social Organization

Once again, we find an ethnological pattern extending from the community into the classroom: Each ethnic child is unconsciously prepared for adulthood by his own culture, although the plan does not always succeed. Probably the percent of 'psychological dropouts' paces both the rigidity and the instability of the society.

We have just seen that although the United States does not push responsibility on the child, but, following its laissez-faire tradition, it does seem to be "pushing the notion of individualistic competition within the framework of the school to an almost superhuman pitch. Yet, it is striking that real progress toward spreading literacy among lower class or ethnic groups has so often occurred in the context of social movements: Civil Rights, the Black Muslims, and, as always, the evangelistic churches" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:10). Individualism alienates other traditions.

Often when a child from a simple culture which is based on kinship enters the American classroom, such as the Hispanic child, he will feel lonely because of the cultural break. A teacher who encounters this situation must encourage such a child to sit by his kin as friends, rather than by assigning a seat to him arbitrarily (Landes 1965:228). (The teacher also should not force boys to associate with girls as they are forced in the Anglo culture, again for the same reason.)

Still another example of the effectiveness of native social organization is seen in a Korean family situation affecting a teacher: The Korean father outranks the mother. Yet an American female social worker seeking to contact the parent of a Korean boy in trouble, consulted only the mother. She was constantly disregarded. Finally, she invited the father to school with his wife, and flatteringly consulted him first and alone. Then all went well (Landes 1965:142).

We have now tried to indicate that each culture differs in its organization of kindred and voluntary organizations. To impose the Yankee accidents onto non-Yankees violates both ethics and efficiency.

And, organization is only one more of the cultural variables. Now let us turn to another factor--differences in attitudes toward human nature.

CHAPTER XVI

ETHNIC VARIABLES: ETHICS (THE GOODNESS OF HUMAN NATURE)

Different cultures have divergent attitudes as to whether human nature basically is good. We may illustrate from examples familiar to the Anglo/European world. In the Calvinistic doctrine, human nature was believed to be corrupt. In such a society, the teacher's role would be to supervise the child closely and strictly. On the other hand, progressives allow the child to have as much individuality as he is able to productively handle, for they believe human nature is good.

A perhaps related situation is that certain aspects of personality are considered congenital whereas others are considered teachable. In many simpler societies, for instance, one may laugh good naturedly at another person's deficiencies in skills and knowledge. Ridicule is restricted to uncouth manners and morals (Fortes 1938:15).

A culture's "ethical" attitude affects many of its activities. It intertwines, for example, with the previously discussed variable of social organization. A society believing in the goodness of fellows is more likely to value distant kin. We do not say which came first; it may be that survival requires distant friendship, and that in turn fosters the belief in personal reliability!

One example of a variance in ethics of two different cultures is that the Anglo culture emphasizes acquisitiveness for personal gain, while some Amerindians (such as the Sioux) emphasize sharing. The difference need not be steamrollered. Again we should utilize rather than attack such customs: The teacher need merely remind the Amerindian child that the sharing should first be toward his own family. Thus, when the child becomes a husband receiving a paycheck, he must first pay his bills, his loans, his savings, and only then share with the people who are more distant relatives or not relatives at all (Bryde 1967:unnumbered pages 17ff.). Or the goal can be syncretized by advocating the learning of two sources of knowledge, both Anglo and Amerindian, to be safer than one. Or, even more obviously, the bright student should share his knowledge with his fellows by tutoring them.

In conclusion, we have seen that attitudes toward human nature do indeed play a very important role and should be heeded by the teacher. Each society has chosen its own way of life, and if the individuals within that society survive, who are we to say whether it is right or wrong?

CHAPTER XVII

ETHNIC VARIABLES: CAUSALITY; THE SENSE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROL

Historians might say that man's attitude toward the controllability of the universe depends on the modernity, the efficiency, of his technology. But anthropologists might counter that the technology depends equally on his world view: A culture does not build computers unless it values objectivity, quantification, logic, etc.

At least two factors are involved in attitudes toward the environment. Does a culture believe that events happen or are caused? And, if caused, are the causes plannable by men? We may term the first matter "transitivity," and the latter, "prometheanism."

This latter plannability factor includes not only the inanimate things such as whether the clouds will deliver rain, but also animate things, such as one's fellow man. In this respect, it is the author's impression that the Yankees believe in the possibility of controlling the subhuman parts of nature, such as rain and birds, but not the human parts. By contrast, the Marxists-Communists seem to believe in the likelihood of controlling all nature.

Cultural attitudes toward causation affect the ways in which citizens learn. The Wolof of French West Africa, for example, believe the self to be highly limited in power, and the world to be rather magically actuated (Greenfield 1966:239ff.). By contrast, the Yankees seem to believe so strongly in transitivity and prometheanism that they attribute to persons, the problems that probably are deep in their inter-ethnic attitudes (such as being unable to win clearcut military victories by force in foreign situations of ethnic change). An example of the contrariety of man's belief within his environment is found in the Texas farmer. His beliefs tend to be strongly conservative. Yet he probably holds to the liberal belief that man can make rain pour from the clouds by seeding them.

Much of the sense of "environmental control" concerns one's rank in the power rule. Cross-culturally, an environmental difference will be noted. Children of certain groups, such as Mexican, Negro, and perhaps migrant Anglo are more likely to expect strong commands than are Anglos. Consequently, the permissive teacher will not satisfy them or gain obedience unless he gives clear orders (Landes 1965:74). On the other hand, Anglo children who have been reared to lax disciplinary measures will reject commands. Indeed, they themselves usually call for more independence; they want to decide for themselves and do not want to be led.

Application

Schooling and the necessity for it has increased in time and in amount of required learning for the modern youngster, due primarily to (Anglo) desire to continually push ahead in hope of financial and social advancement. The payoff seems ever farther away. This fact especially harms children of the "mañana" cultures. How, then, can persons who are relatively fatalistic be made to take the thousands of investment steps, such as learning a trigonometry formula necessary to reach the goal, such as a school diploma?

Once again we recommend that fatalism, or "futilitarianism," be reinterpreted as "determinism." The world is to be shown to such ethics as a determined system. The student must come to class daily. But, in return, the school must impart a certain amount of utility in that one day. This pay-as-you-go philosophy is far more understandable to an "immediacy culture" than benefit that is promised to begin a decade hence. Thus, if a futilitarian student is to complete high school, he need only walk to school daily, lift his pencil, etc. He cannot leave school as early as did his parents, however, since his generation must work in a more complicated world.

Environmental control attitudes should not be neglected by education. The school tends to train children for docility. Yet, in the White society, Amerindian children will have to assert themselves and be self-reliant. And the traditional Amerindian training (as Ruth Benedict [discussed in Hawthorn and others 1958: 312] argued) trains and requires the Indian to be independent, self-reliant, and assertive. Conflict could be minimized by teaching to fit the minority's real, not "purely academic," attitudes toward environmental control.

Adolescence is in many cultures, and certainly in the Anglo culture, the prime of life in which the young man or woman feels a necessity to master a larger portion of nature. He is filled with a need for "motor omnipotence, the need for active locomotion." Yet at that very time, he probably is going to high school, where he is limited in the distance he can travel, required to fit a regular schedule, and greatly limited economically. Consequently, "automobiles more often than not are stolen by the young in search of the kind of automotive intoxication" (Erik H. Erickson, quoted in R. Wax and M. Wax 1964:50). One solution might, then, be for a school to offer special driving lessons to one student as a reward for good work. Or, if he already has an automobile license, it could offer the special use of an automobile, such as three hours one evening, or to an otherwise restricted area. This would be a way of meeting the tremendous interest of high school students, especially impoverished in automotive matters, instead of trying so desperately to fight against these culture-wide influences.

Another example of divergent attitudes in environmental control may be considered in a value conflict between Anglo culture which emphasizes activity to improve oneself over nature, and traditional Amerindian (for example, the Sioux) cultures. Anglos seek to improve themselves over nature; many Amerindians adjust to nature. How, then, can the school train them? The two values can be adjusted additively or otherwise harmoniously, according to Fr. John Bryde (1967? unnumbered pages 17 and following): The teacher need simply argue that the way for the Amerindians to reach the old values of survival, leisure, and adjustment to nature is by following the Anglo value of improving self _in order to acquire that time_!

And with this brief discussion of ethnic differences in causation and in environmental control, we end our list of major factors in which societies may differ. We have specified the proportions between the domains (cognition versus affect versus psychomotion);

communication; timing; spacing; social organization; the goodness of human nature; causing versus happenstance; and man's ability to control his environment. It is even likely that time will add to that list of attitudes and behaviors in which one ethnic group can differ from another. Although each variable already has been illustrated with some schoolroom applications, we may now generalize some principles in the directing of cross-cultural change.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REDIRECTABILITY OF CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION

In the foregoing sections, we have seen that cultures vary in many aspects. The aspects often combine in real-life situations to produce values that only the native can interpret. As a rule, the directed culture changer, such as an educationist, should observe and obey these complex patterns rather than question them.

Does directed cultural change require the changing of the minority's cultural patterns? We think not. Rather, directed cultural change emphasizes the utilization, the mutual harmonization, of such patterns. It is coercion that changes the patterns; but it is telesis, or scientific and voluntary change, that adapts the proposal (such as for education) to the existing patterns.

The old Yankee idea was that men both individually and collectively, could be changed in some ways, especially in childhood. Such a philosophy was necessary for a democracy, if all men were to have equal pursuit of opportunity. Anyone could be changed, so went the credo, if society worked on him at a sufficiently tender age: "To an extent characteristic of no other institution, save that of the state itself, the school has power to modify the social order" (John Dewey, quoted in Malherbe 1946: 94).

Anthropology doubts this attitude. It shows a culture as an interlocking directorate. All educational systems, for example, obey not only intellectual currents, but such matters as the socio-economic background of its laymen school boards. There are politico-economic pressures through such channels as textbook publishers. All sorts of interinfluence are at work to subordinate the school system to the value system of the society.

An educational system does not obey the pure findings of pure sciences. Because the school is only a small part of the day, the community influences will tend either to reinforce or to combat schoolroom teaching. Consequently, in cross-cultural teaching, we cannot judge the schoolroom's activities by themselves. We can judge their effectiveness only be testing whether they remain after the indigenous influence has worked on them for some time. Any program involving cross-cultural teaching cannot be measured until at least six months have passed. We may call such a necessary evaluation, "transcultural retention testing."

An example of the potential conflict of school and community in an inter-ethnic situation is seen in the crucial area of language. As noted, the tongue used from earliest childhood provides great emotional support. When the school is conducted entirely in an alien language, the young child suffers cultural shock. Consequently, unless proof is offered to the contrary, anthropology must recommend bilingual education. While there are many forms for such blending, the essence is that at least some instruction proceed in the home spoken dialect.

"Bilingual education means the opportunity to teach a child educational concepts in all phases of the curriculum in his mother tongue while he is learning English. This means we are preventing his education retardation while reinforcing his language and his culture" (Armando Rodriguez, quoted in Education USA 1968:213).

Most educational research has concerned school building activities. Only a fraction has studied the family and community and "diaspora" (the larger, often scattered, components of the same ethnic group, such as relations between Hispanics of the United States Southwest and those in Florida). In this connection, our earlier chapter on the need for applied social science revealed the underdevelopment of applied anthropology. From the basic questions mentioned in this present chapter, we may see how even more underdeveloped is a discipline of applied _educational_ ethnology!

In one of the few large-scale attempts at applied behavioral science, the United States in 1965 legislated 20 educational laboratories. As the first anthropologist in the laboratory system, I find a vast gap between anthropological theory and the needs of such implemental institutions. Some of those needs are: identifying _usable_ details in ethnographies, cooperating with subcultural scientists, overcoming the anthropologist shortage by breaking down (deskilling) tasks, identifying differences in goals between the majority culture power structure and the minority culture values, relating (or opposing) formal schooling to the communal aspects of enculturation, measurement of culture-change effects, etc. These needs are many. An applied science of inter-ethnic education depends on many parts!

We see, in sum, that cross-cultural education is a problem not only in learning, but also in cultural change. And such study has barely begun. Let us proceed to outline the types of educational problems that should be attacked by such an activity.

CHAPTER XIX

A ROSTER OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS CAUSED BY ETHNIC DIFFERENCE

Having considered some procedural problems in redirecting cross-cultural education, we may turn to the areas in which such redirection seems particularly problematic. For the social scientist, these are not substantive areas like trigonometry, but sociocultural areas that see the interaction of groups of people. We may begin with the unequal developments of the parts of the child's body.

Ontogeny: The Development of the Individual Child

The child develops through several major stages of growth. According to Jean Piaget (discussed in Jennings 1967) the first stage, from birth to about two years, is a sensory-motor stage. In it, the child learns his muscles and senses.

The next phase begins with the inception of organized language and continues to about age six. Piaget considers it a preoperational or representational stage. In it, the child learns, through words and other symbols, to represent the outside and inner worlds.

Piaget's third stage, between seven and eleven years, sees the acquisition of concrete operations. The child learns to move and fit things.

In the fourth stage of formal operations, the 12-to-15 year old develops hypothetical reasoning for all possible combinations. Thereafter intelligence and moral awareness develop.

Piaget seems to assume that these stages occur in the same sequence and the same duration in all human beings. Anthropology suggests, however, that they may be varied from culture to culture, even though there may be a bottom limit to each stage. For example, certain Melanesian cultures probably emphasize a longer stage for sensory-motor, and a somewhat delayed language representation. Again, Anglo culture seems to believe that tremendous problems arise and should arise among teenagers. But other cultures handle the transition to adulthood much more continuously as Margaret Mead classically showed in Samoa. Nor is such gentling unique. In Africa, likewise, the Tallensi believe that growth is a natural process. They have no transition rites (such as Anglo graduations, fraternity initiations, etc.) to mark passable from one stage of growth to another (Fortes 1938:23).

Age-grade Differences

In preliterate cultures, knowledge is sought by the pupils as a guide to their inevitable life roles. The child always is in close physical contact with the matured activity that he is merely learning. By contrast, in literate cultures, the very phenomenon of literacy permits a separation between the learning and the doing. The school itself, and what the pupil is learning in it, are physically separate from adult application of the learning. One frequent result is the child's failure to feel an immediate relevance in the relation between what is being taught him now and what this has to do with the rest of his life. Such attitudes as rejection and boredom occur exclusively in literate cultures (Henry 1960:284).

In studying a simpler culture like the Tallensi, we find the child and adult sharing a common sociality. Consequently, the children are eager to take a share in the economic and social activities, and need not be coerced. As a result, there is a clear-cut understanding of why certain activities should be done even if they appear to the observer to be remote from social goals. Thus, even a six year old Tale child can easily explain why he wants to own a hen. Its eggs can be used to breed chicks; the chickens can be sold to buy a goat; goat offspring buy a sheep; sheep offspring buy a cow; and the cow may be exchanged for a wife (Fortes 1938:8-11). Complex culture technology can multiply the egg productivity (though we shall not advocate polygyny!). Yet rarely does complex culture education explain the payoff.

Institutional Differences

In a complex culture like the Anglo, the schools serve as the intermediary to fit children into the culture. But, Pettitt (1946:4) reports, "the situation is significantly different on a primitive level; for no single institution exists there to meet the educational needs. As a result all institutions . . . have to see to their own perpetuation. The educational role which they play is largely unformulated and even unconscious, and it is for this reason, perhaps, that its importance has been overlooked." Institutions and roles are narrower in the complex society. Thus, Anglo churches vary their roles in such matters as race relations. Anglo schools emphasize verbal fluency and "field oriented cognition." These are much less important in other cultures, on whom Anglos "inflict" these values (Fuchs 1967:38).

Sex Roles

The Anglo culture expects male adults to be more aggressive than female adults. Yet it expects male children to be as obedient and passive as female children. This is a problem for Anglo culture, and it is unfair as a result to blame cultural minorities--such as Hispanics--when they cannot adjust to this paradox (Fuchs 1967:37).

Mexicans, Negroes and certain other minority groups delegate authority by maleness, age and status. Consequently, a child--even more, a female child--does not expect to influence decisions. When a school authority, such as a teacher, expects the child to interact permissively, the supposition arouses confusion (Landes 1965:146).

Class Differences

Anglo teachers are by no means equally distributed among the several classes of the Anglo population, nor even of the same class as the ethnic minorities whom they teach. Instead, the teaching profession overwhelmingly attracts people who are considered middle class, and especially from the middle-middle and lower-middle classes. A fairly recent survey found that "more than 95 percent of the teachers in the community in New England, the Deep South, and the Midwest . . . are middle class" (Davis 1952:88). While non-Anglo societies tend to emphasize emotion, the Anglo teacher tends to represent that part of her culture which is most strict and austere: "School teachers originate from a middle and lower class social culture. . . . The value pattern that I have termed 'traditional' is found in this cultural context in its most puritanic form" (Spindler 1959:22-23). Thus class differences complicate education.

Diversity Differences Within One Ethnic Group

The democratic ideal sometimes tends to suppress differences: "Faith in education is nothing more than an expression of the democratic dream concerning the equality of man. Only recently has there been any concession on the part of the [United States] public that there are many ways in which man is not equal. It seems that this extraordinarily strong belief, bordering almost on fanaticism, has blinded the American people to what constitutes equality of educational opportunity. To a great many people, equality of opportunity [erroneously] means identity of opportunity" (Ulibarri 1958:1-2). Thus, the myth of equality causes problems.

Diversity Differences Between Ethnic Groups

Other school difficulties concern the family name. It may have been changed, or simplified, as by marriage. Therefore the teacher must interpret ethnic preference not from the child's name but from his behavior (Pascual 1968).

Nor can the teacher assume any one culture to be older or better than another. The resentment that certain cultures may feel against taking instructions from the Yankees is understandable in the fact that many cultures have outlived the Anglos. For example, consider the case of the Yankee school teacher who smugly tells the Pueblo Amerindians what *they* should learn in order to survive. Perhaps that school teacher does not realize how much of an upstart her culture is as compared with the Pueblos: The Yankee culture changed very much on its transplantation from Europe, so that we may fairly say that Yankeeism began somewhere around the late 17th century. By contrast, the Pueblo culture is a fairly continuous evolution from the Anasazi culture, which emerged in probably the second century A.D.; "Pueblo I" is believed to have arisen as long ago as 700 A.D. (Clark 1961:230-231). The Pueblo culture is, then, at least three and perhaps six times as experienced as Yankeeism. The Pueblo child (and similarly of many another culture) is therefore chagrined to learn that Columbus discovered America. Such ethnohistorical differences complicate education. It is, of course, true that the U. S. A. has enjoyed one of the stablest political structures of modern complex societies.

Town & Gown: The Community Versus the Educational Establishment

Many, perhaps most, ethnic groups depend more on kinship than does the Anglo. It follows that a newcomer to a village or town will encounter a closed net of friendships and blood relations. They bind the community and exclude outsiders until the stranger is found over a period of time to be acceptable. And acceptance may be granted only sector by sector. Thus, teachers in the Bisayan zone of the Philippine Islands were given high prestige, and were believed in academic matters, but were disregarded in matters of agriculture (Sibley 1960-1961:210).

The Concept of Cultural Deprivation or Cultural Disadvantage

The foregoing differences explain much of pupil diversity, but do not justify the differences as superiority of one culture. Yet some educationists attribute inter-ethnic problems to "cultural deprivation." These concepts erroneously "suggest that the minority group pupil and his family are at fault. Therefore, the pupil and his subculture should be manipulated . . . while the traditional school is, in effect, a finished product which has served majority group pupils well and should, therefore, not be seriously challenged. Minority groups must adjust, must conform, must change, while the schools and their programs are basically sound and need no fundamental revision." Thereby school boards can delude themselves and the public into believing that special programs designed to compensate are all that is needed (Forbes 1967b?:7).

However, this is erroneous. Every culture is complete. The concept of cultural deprivation "is not merely an insult to the Mexican American, Indian, Chinese American, etc., but also is a continuation of the missionary urge of White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants ('WASPs') to demonstrate the superiority of their culture by making everyone else over in their own image. Is this not a form of 'cultural imperialism' made possible by sheer political and economic dominance of the Anglo American majority?" (Forbes 1967b?:10). A sounder approach would seem to be the mutual adjustment of the externally controlled school system and the ethnic minority.

Further proof that the poor and ethnic minorities are not culturally deprived, but simply have a different culture from "WASPism," is seen in a study of Pittsburgh's "slum" language. It found that 3,200 words or idioms were used there that were not recognized by their teachers or by educational tests (Forbes 1967b:17). Nor does hackneyed testing really "prove" the cultural "deprivation" of non-Yankees. According to Herbert Wilson (1968:7), "the problem of cross-cultural evaluation and assessment has interested numbers of people over the years. . . . Nonverbal instruments, such as drawings, maze tests, projective techniques, and oral interviews, . . . tend to claim notions of . . . no cultural bias, but have tended to overlook an important factor. That factor consists of the notion that tests /do/ require specific skills. The very act of being tested tends to be alien in many cultures." False test results are, then another inter-ethnic problem.

Ranking Perpetuated

Elsewhere, we discuss the principle of the gradual amplification of a pattern, or "haoleization." In accordance with such secondary acculturation, a school system tends to perpetuate rather than change the social rankings. Using the prior discussion of "intelligence" tests, we may see how this prejudice is repeated.

I. Q. scores may well be an indication of the degree of "WASPishness"--the degree of internalization of middle class Yankee values. And such a score may reflect nothing more than the performance at a particular moment. Experimental work recently was done which showed the effect of social factors in so "objective" a matter as intelligence scoring and appreciation. Robert Rosenthal and Leonore Jacobson, discussed in Herbert Wilson (1968:17), tested this matter. To measure the effect of cultural expectations, a group of experimenters purposely misled a group of teachers to believe that certain groups of pupils had rated high on I. Q. scores. Actually, those "gifted" children had been picked at random from all achievement areas of the schools.

Now the children whom the teachers believed to be brighter than average began to progress much faster than the supposedly average school child. Indeed, their I. Q.'s began to rise! Just after a few months, when the rest of the student body had gained 8.4 points on the I.Q. test, these "brighter" (actually average) pupils showed a gain of 12.2 points.

Obviously, this "progress" was a result of social expectation, both on the part of the teacher and on the part of the pupil. Thus, it is external factors as well as internal factors that determine how well a pupil does in school. The old approach of measuring purely psychological matters, and neglecting social and cultural problems, is deceptive.

The persistence of difference and segregation is seen even in attempts to eliminate them. Let us consider the matter of learning English as a second language: The "democratic" goal would seem to be the integration of ethnic minorities with Anglo students. Yet such an ethnic minority usually requires special training in English as a second language, naturally not required for the Anglos. Consequently, those who believe in enrichment for minorities are forced to segregate pupils for special language training. Meanwhile, those who believe in immediate and constant racial integration are forced to forego training needed to put the minority on a par (cf. Zintz 1963:192)!

The Classroom as a Cultural Shocker

When a teacher of one ethnic group, such as Anglo, enters the classroom of a minority group, such as Hispanics, she actually is penetrating a new culture. When she is not prepared for it (and Anglo education hardly prepares the teacher for cross-cultural experience) she undergoes the phenomenon described as "culture shock." One such symptom is the unconscious tendency to bridge the gap of understanding not by ethnological understanding but by raising one's voice to a shout (Fuchs 1967:19-20;47).

The logical thing is not to try to change the culture or the proportion of attention that the child pays. If, instead, the educational system will accept ethnicity, then we believe that the child will more readily understand the Anglo educational system's own preferences for the cognitive field, such as the fascination of Yankee culture for mathematics. The task of the intercultural teacher is, then, not merely learning theory teaching, but cultural change.

CHAPTER XX

ADAPTING THE ELEMENTS OF EDUCATION CROSS-CULTURALLY

Having discussed the variables in a culture, we must now understand the variables in the educational process. We then shall be able to give a fair consideration to adapting these variables to actual cultures. Neither enriched segregated schooling, nor merely integrated schooling, automatically makes ideal use of ethnic patterns. In the first instance, there is the danger that traditional patterns, suitable for an isolated society, may not suffice to fit the opportunities that arise as two cultures convene in the modern world. In the second instance, the (Anglo) curriculum, teachers, and other factors may simply stand attuned to Anglo patterns.

The complex culture will need more than the simple one to modernize its teachers' education. Hence it will need constantly to modify its preservice (college of education) and in-service (as between semesters) training. This need probably requires feedback devices to alert academic managers to the decentralized reality. Probably an entire function needs to emerge in the complex societies to perform that measurement.

On the other hand, each community probably faces a different "mix" of opportunities and modes of resistance to changes in ethnic education. For this reason, we shall attempt to specify many kinds of insertion points. The more of these that the reader can attack, the more likely will be his school system to befit the minority wellsprings of motivation.

There is of course an unlimited number of aspects to education. The diversity of educational factors (such as social classification of the teacher) is outlined in Henry (1960:269-272). For this manual's purposes, we choose only those matters that may be readily overlooked. The four chosen parts are: (1) the sociological environment of the school, (2) teaching methods, (3) curricular subjects, and (4) subject samples.

CHAPTER XXI

EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES: THE SOCIOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Sociological environment has a tremendous influence upon a school for it affects the school through all groups: (1) community personnel; (2) teaching personnel; (3) student personnel; and (4) parental personnel.

In the case of a single culture, the principle of holism suggests that the student has fairly few problems; there is concordance of patterning between home, school, community, and pupil. Yet even in that uni-ethnic situation, there are intergroup problems.

The United States has long borne a tension of school control between local and state or national authorities. This is, in effect, a tension between the "small tradition" and the "great tradition". To some extent, many complex cultures apply some compromise. An interesting example is the Friskoler, or local, parent-controlled school in Denmark. It receives much of its funds from that federal government. (The Friskoler system now is being investigated by the anthropologist Estelle Fuchs.) When we exceed the uni-class, uni-cultural school, social problems multiply, yet seem to have been slighted. The need for placing more emphasis on the sociological environment has been stated in "three monumental, federally sponsored studies of . . . educational issues--the Coleman-Campbell Report . . . the Civil Rights Commission Report . . . and _Project Talent_. . . . Each demonstrates that student achievement is influenced mainly by family conditioning, personal motivation, and the social climate of the school. These major sources of academic success or failure are inextricably connected with race or ethnicity" (Dentler and others 1967:X;compare Orr and Pulsipher 1967;1967c.). Purely individualistic-science approaches are sterile.

One of the ways in which segregation seems to affect pupil aspirations is by providing a different "peer group" or reference group to which a student compares himself. Those of a higher social neighborhood will tend, for example, more frequently to talk and think about going to college. Consequently, occupational aspirations and academic achievement will be higher in the school district with the higher social class of students (Alan Wilson 1959:845). Mere concentration of better facts better taught by better teachers does not compensate for these sociological differences in peer groups.

When, however, one ethnicity dominates the educational system and the other furnishes its pupils, there is great likelihood of division and tension. Many studies have been made to correlate various aspects of home environment; where one ethnicity rules, with school success; where the dominant society reigns. A few of the studies have been more or less cross-cultural. Anderson and Johnson (1968:6;16) tested each of the following home environment factors among Hispanics: achievement values, self-concept of ability, post high school plans, participation in extra curricular school activities, pupils attitudes toward teachers and the schools, patterns of language usage in family members, achievement values held by the parents, the degree of 'achievement-press' experienced by the children, the educational levels of mother and father, and the occupational status of the father. The crucial factor seems to be academic self-confidence: "Possibly one of the most significant findings that has so far emerged from this study is the discovery that Mexican American children may have less confidence in their ability to successfully fulfill the expectations of their parents and the school than their /Yankee/ contemporaries . . ." (ibid., p. 16).

A moderate way to generate such confidence may be to "appreciate" the minority: Major ethnic celebrations should be brought into the school routine, such as that of the Mexican Americans during Cinco de Mayo; Negroes during Negro History Week; etc. But the applications should not await observance dates. School personnel should have some background in sociology and/or anthropology, and should receive special training in the culture and history of the minorities. This corresponds somewhat to the cross-cultural dynamics training given preservice Peace Corps and Vista trainees. (The foregoing suggestions are based on comments of Forbes 1967?:58;61). Where there is a cultural gap between educational system and cultural heritage, the situation may require some control of the school administration by the exotic culture. A landmark discussion of decentralization appears in the Bundy proposal on New York City (1967) schools. A parallel case, already effectuated may be the natively controlled Navajos' Rough Rock Demonstration School where the gulf between generations normally engendered by a boarding school is bridged by encouragement to parents and elders to visit. They often come from long distances and are invited to stay several days, sleep in the dormitories, eat in the cafeteria, and observe the education being provided their children.

Some of them come as salaried, short-term employees. Every five weeks, a new team of parents arrive to work and live in the dormitories. The first week is spent in receiving training from the previous team. Thus, virtually every child at school has a real parent or, in their system of extended relationship, a relative, in the dormitory with him almost all year (Fuchs 1967:84;98). Similar development of ties between the school and its ethnic population would seem reasonable.

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES: TEACHING METHOD

Enculturation is performed in a vast diversification around the world. A young child may be taught in his household (as among the Eskimos) or in many households (as in Samoa). He may be chastened by any passerby (as among the Zuñi of the American Southwest) or be ignored (as among the Mundugumor of New Guinea). His male teacher may be not his father, but his mother's brother (as in many Melanesian societies) and so on (C. W. M. Hart, 1963:401-402).

It is sometimes believed that primitive cultures are exceedingly permissive toward children. The anthropologist maintains that cultural values are culture-specific. In the island of Manus, Melanesia, for instance, property is sacred. Consequently, the slightest breakage is punished without mercy: When three eight year old girls of Manus climbed on to a deserted canoe and accidentally broke a pot, "all night the village rang with drum calls and angry speeches, . . . denouncing careless children. The fathers . . . described how roundly they had beaten the young criminals" (Margaret Mead, quoted in Henry 1960:275). Primitivity is not everywhere permissive!

Predicament Learning Versus Exploratory Learning

Are there universal norms for teaching methods? Studies of primate animals suggest only directions, not absolutes. One finding is that exploration takes place most often when the animals are well fed and are secure, not fearful (Washburn 1968:11). This theory might be well adapted for use in the classroom. A teacher should try to avoid creating situations which make a child fearful. The teacher who understands that there are competitive and noncompetitive, individualistic and group, forms of culture will help children adapt more readily to their surroundings.

An extreme example is the Yankee pattern emphasizing individuality. Plans often have been devised in Anglo school systems for changing what little group teaching and group learning there is, to further individualism. For example, the "Dalton Plan" (1920's, Dalton, Massachusetts) replaces regular classroom teaching with individual study. Each student receives a number of assignments for the work he is to do in each subject over a certain period of time. Each student proceeds with work individually. He is brought together with his fellows only for discussion or group instruction when specifically required. The teacher prepares all the assignments beforehand together with the materials the student will need. Thereby the Yankees cleverly hope to retain their atomistic approach despite the need to assemble the "lazy" children for control.

Such an approach wisely recognizes biological and environmental difference in individual development, or ontogeny. But it slights the social and ethnic levels, for it emphasizes individual cognition rather than group effect. It considers the student as an atom into whose brain certain units are to be packed.

The same approach is now arising in several new forms, such as "Individually Prescribed Instruction." We do not say that it is good or bad for the Yankees, but merely that it does not necessarily fit the far more sociable patterns that are normal in non-Anglo cultures.

Rivalry: Between Individuals or Between Groups?

How does this apply to teaching? Among competitive methods is a teacher's singling out a student, as for recitation aloud. Group cultures feel shame of such handling. Instead, a teacher could treat them more equally. She could call on one at a time around the classroom, such as from left to right, or alphabetically by students' names.

Since the students' culture in this illustrative case is noncompetitive, the teacher should utilize pedagogical methods that are equally noncompetitive. These are any methods that do not cause any one child to excel obviously over others within any short period of time. This brings the student to recite in such a way that he knows it is his turn.

Apparently a teacher functions well among Amerindians when she seems to be on their side. One way to appear to be on the side of the pupils is to make the work, the problems, seem to come from someone other than the teacher. Thus a way to avoid intrastudent rivalry would be to group students by some _non_academic factor such as left versus right side (Burger 1967c:215). Or the group can seem to be one entire classroom against another. Thereby, when one teacher sought to increase attendance at a parent visit, she challenged her class by saying, "Don't we want _our room_ to show 100 percent attendance by parents?" (Landes 1965:115). Such a maneuvering of potentially rivalrous groups may fit many cultures. Yankees tend to argue intraindividual competition but intranational solidarity. By contrast, many cultures expect intranational jockeying, and discourage intraindividual competition.

In the latter case, ingroup feeling also may be generated over a period of time. The resultant cooperation may be reduced to quantities, such as the percent of pupils who are prompt to each class. This is a basic method for directing cultural change, a method that Burger (1967: 316-321) called "boxscore."

Obvious Versus Private Recitations

Another methodological variable to overcome the shyness due to egalitarianism is to use a method which is not visible to the students and yet measures their knowledge. Many such methods are available. A most obvious one is written reports and tests: Since one student does not know what the others are writing, he does not feel limited in "showing off" his knowledge. But of course the scores must not be publicly announced, lest competition enter the picture again.

Many pupil- and dropout-studies (such as R. Wax and M. Wax 1964:25-26) reveal that they prefer written assignments with which the teacher helps them, to hearing lectures by the teacher: "I don't learn much from Mr. James because he is talking about his (pet interests) most of the time. But when he is teaching--showing us how to (do the assignment)--I am learning a lot."

Breaking a task into its components means its facilitation. Reciting English, for example, means both reading it aloud, and having its accuracy create classroom-wide prestige or shame for the reader. At Ganado (Arizona) Public School, teachers furnished Navajo children with puppets. Since the reciter could now attribute the speaking to an inanimate non-kin, the child would recite loudly enough to participate even in an assembly hall play (Stout and Langdon 1963:88). And sometimes the shy child imagines himself (the puppet) to be a fellow Amerindian who is more fluent, or an Anglo friend (Wight and Snow 1967:26).

The same principle of avoiding singling-out applies when the silence is due to a limited grammar and vocabulary. We need not confuse ability to speak with ability to understand; the latter is far greater for the inter-ethnic pupil. A Hispanic school problem illustrates this: One group of first graders could hardly verbalize in English. Yet the teacher had to learn health histories of their families. Perhaps she realized that sight preceded interpretation. She wisely asked the pupils to draw their experiences. Thereupon she readily received sketches of pimpled skin, fevered bed patients, and even accurate representation of body parts modeled in clay (Landes 1965:84).

The publicity and site of student performance can be maneuvered further. In cultures where parents are puritanical, or emphasize importance of formal learning, they may demand that their children receive large homework assignments. In such a school system, if the school has a study hall in which the students perform part or all of that homework, the parents will believe that the school is pampering the students. The solution is, of course, to shift the studying to home but retain the same workload.

Puritanic Versus Hedonistic Approaches

Another methodological variable is the grimness (puritanicalness) or casualness (fun approach, hedonism) of the presentation. Some (Anglo) ways of life can be taught as skills rather than as cultural values. For example, cleanliness, toothbrushing, punctuality, and so on might in the lower grades be taught as a type of game. Later, playing might also be adopted for such problems as good grammar, formal politeness, respect for public property, dependability in school (providing the teacher shows that she does not monitor out-of-school behavior) (Crawford and others 1967:48-49).

Audio-Visual Methods

The Yankees excel in mechanisms and therefore in audio-visual devices. We can hardly add to the multitude of literature on this subject except to emphasize that diverse novelty is even more important to an ethnic minority than to the majority since the former probably has been more sheltered.

Miniaturizing is a typical way of broadening classroom experiences to parallel those of the outside world. In this way, rates of speed were explained with Navajo children by means of toy pickup trucks (Stout and Langdon 1963:64).

We see, then, that teaching methods designed for Anglo school systems can indeed be modified profitably for intercultural teaching. Let us proceed to another academic factor, that of the types of subject studied.

CHAPTER XXIII

EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES: CURRICULAR SUBJECTS

Just as teaching methods are ethnic-specific, so are the subjects taught. The culture of a society is expressed through its school system. It tends to teach the child what the society believes it needs, rather than trying to give the child an "absolutely" ideal education.

Northern Europe and Anglo cultures tend to emphasize cognitive subjects, like mathematics, or at least the cognitive aspects of all subjects. There are great objections to teaching subjects such as sex problems, religion, and even the arts. What little fine arts training there is in the modern classroom is nominal. Indeed, Jules Henry (1961:263) has argued that much school handiwork, such as making of pot holders, is not truly arts and crafts, or even muscular coordination. Rather, it is a combination of nostalgia for arts and crafts that have been wiped out by industrialism and of relaxing relief from the tension of regular, dull, cognitive school work. As partial proof, Henry noted that true components of art, such as problems of perspective, are not taught. Bulletin board space devoted to the display of American values is filled--not with great works of art, but with pictures of missiles and cute animals.

The need for a more rounded education can be witnessed daily as we find more and more students gifted in one or two fields. They have not had the opportunity to expand their talents. A typical possible solution is modular scheduling in which associated courses are combined in one classroom. Thus, the economics of one country during one epoch might be taught in relation to its contemporary politics. Such an approach better agrees with anthropology's argument of integration, or holism.

The present imbalance simply favors the fashionable matters at the expense of other potentials of human learning. "If the child is having one kind of experience, then he cannot be having another. If he is learning calculus, then he is not simultaneously learning to dance, powwow style. . . . Most intellectuals . . . are so sold on the value of children learning calculus that they have forgotten about the value of dancing" (M. Wax and R. Wax 1968:13).

Cross-Culture Should be Integrated into Learning Activities

The situation worsens where the group dominating the school system differs from that receiving its instruction. Among the curative recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was the "recognition of the history, culture, and contribution of minority groups to American civilization in the textbooks and curricula of all schools: To stimulate motivation, school curricula should be adapted to take advantage of student experiences and interests" (1968:248).

The field of academic games and simulation is quite unplowed. For example, social science courses presenting the development of the United States should consider the pioneers from the several ethnic groups, their explorers and soldiers. Courses might re-create events from which these ethnic minorities emigrated. Curricula in literature should include readings about and by members of that ethnic group. Studies in art and music should consider all types of aesthetics of the minority groups. Painting and orchestra classes should offer these various styles, as should dancing, an activity generally more institutionized in the non-Anglo cultures of the world than among the Anglos. (It would fit the children's sex roles, of course, not necessarily being of mixed-sex couples as in the nuclear Anglo style.) Arts and crafts courses should acquaint all pupils with the various art forms of the minority. Even home economics courses should consider the minority, such as in the types of foods to be cooked, and in the facilities the pupil is taught to use in preparing these dishes. Adults and youths, especially successful ones by the minority value system, should be invited to address the classes, to act as supplementary teachers, etc. No elements of this minority should be introduced to the school, however, unless there is active participation of the local minority element. Local advisory committees should be formed of such minority adults. These cultural heritages should be treated as integral and valuable parts of the United States legacy and not as a bit of 'exotica' to be used as a sort of spice (Forbes 1967?:58ff.).

The classroom also should include complementary materials related to the ethnic minority, such as library resources: magazines, newspapers, books, phonograph records, films, etc. All opinions should be included--both the middle class orientation and the separatists among that minority. The issues that they raise are real issues that cannot be ignored by the school designed to be involved with its community.

In an ethnically integrated school, cross-cultural materials of this type may be offered to all or some students. In the latter situation, courses are offered that have been designed to transmit cultural heritage and history of a particular group only to members of that group along with pupils from other groups if the latter voluntarily enroll. These special ethnic-centered offerings could be developed and operated by parents, thus insuring a high degree of parental involvement and identification with the school (Forbes 1967?:56-57).

By contrast, Shakesperian quatrains for rural living hardly befit today's District of Columbia Negroes. Yet that was the subject of poetry actually observed in a slum classroom recently (Olivero 1968).

Typical related ways of getting the school to perceive non-Anglo culture are to reveal elements of the minority culture in any of many formats. Such character can be created by means of murals that depict aspects of the minority heritage. Statues can be erected to show outstanding leaders of that minority. There can be displays of its arts and crafts. Bulletin boards can depict such minority members and their accomplishments. The school can be named after an appropriate minority leader. The expense involved in such techniques need not be great, since it is likely that the community will respond by becoming involved in the projects (Forbes 1967?:58).

By all these means, the subjects taught in school can be broadened to syncretize the minority culture's preferences.

CHAPTER XXIV

EDUCATIONAL VARIABLES: SUBJECT EXAMPLES

Overlapping somewhat with the subjects taught is the choice of example used to teach a subject. One may teach mathematics via economic problems; in so doing she may really be teaching economics.

Since subject examples are intended to relate an abstraction such as physics to daily life, they tend to be ethnocentric. Intelligence tests often are so constructed. For example, one question (reproduced in Eels 1951:258) required the answer to distinguish properties of certain pictograms. One of these is, as we note elsewhere, a harp. The harp is a rare and traditional instrument, associated with leisure and elitism. Not to the surprise of the sociologists, errors in explaining the harp by low-status classes of pupils were over twice as great as among high-status. One can only imagine the consequent attribution of "stupidity," that must have resulted when harp type questions were imposed upon students of non-leisure background!

If there existed such a difference merely between classes of a single culture, one may imagine how such questions further discriminate against members of other cultures. Comparable to the harp of upper class Euro-americans, how many Yankees in a foreign school would be able to identify native instruments--such, for example, as Indonesia's gong-and-bamboo-tube combination, gamelan angklung? We cannot expect a child to respond to pictures of articles whose subjects or components have not previously been experienced.

Because of the increasing gap between school curricula and learning via the mass media, actual testing may be necessary to determine which 'required' subjects may not already be well known and which unnecessary subjects may be publicly undiscussed, hence requiring school time. At Amerindian Pueblos near Albuquerque, pretesting is performed to determine popular knowledge. The testing organization, named EVCO, includes a computerized grading that determines which unexposed students must attend each subject the next day (Burger 1968c). This is, of course, a type of individually prescribed instruction.

In the absence of individualized pretests, the teacher should use an instrument familiar to the background of the majority of her students in a similar situation. An example appears in Turkey. Its 1936 elementary schools wisely used different primers for peasants and city dwellers. In illustrations, for example, the two groups were shown, respectively, to have shaven/hairy heads; collarless/tailored shirts; baggy/tight pants; and rubber golashes/leather shoes (Landes 1965:122-123). While the drawings were differentiated by social class, the texts were identical.

Parallel to the Turkish case is a current Anglo finding: dark-skinned pupils respond better to dolls that are dark-, not light skinned (Landes 1965:123).

Reference Group Examples

There are many things children will do to identify with people or things they admire. These examples may be harnessed for pupil motivation. Thus, a Soviet first grader kept soiling his notebook. The teacher, realizing that the child respected his father, asked the child if the father did not have some document that he kept soil-free. In response, the child mentioned his father's internal passport. The teacher thereupon compared the parental visa to the lad's notebook. Thereupon, the lad reformed (Yesipov and Goncharov 1946:108).

A similar utilization of the child's peers or "reference groups" concerns athletics. One type of activity likely to encourage cooperation is sports. Hence, if a teacher has difficulty getting students to take some action like showering, she can point out that members of the basketball team normally shower. Since the minority students often want to imitate the athlete, they often will gladly comply (Landes 1965:56). Likewise, the better association will probably result, the closer in ethnicity the teacher can be to the child. This goal will often recommend the substitution of certain formal licensure requirements. In view of the frequency with which we hear criticism of "educationist" courses, such substitution may not produce net loss!

In providing curricular examples, the use of very simple pictures sometimes will bypass a student's difficulty. Thus, when a teacher sought to discuss community interdependence in second grade social studies to a class whose parents worked at a cannery, she introduced the intermediate subject of transportation. It linked the harvest to harvestless cities that were interdependent on the agricultural communities, hence interested the children (C. Galbraith 1965:71).

Similarly, interest and speech may be elicited from students of an ethnic minority by asking each to discuss some ethnic tradition.

At Puerco Elementary School, in Sanders, Arizona, fourth grade Navajos were in November 1967 asked to give a detailed report on some Navajo tradition by the teacher, Miss Rosemary Vocu. I heard a tape recording of one student telling excitedly about how his family converts sagebrush into shampoo-pomade. These alledgedly shy Navajos became so interested in making these reports on their traditions that I overestimated the quantity of participating students by a factor of six!

The general process of leading from a familiar subject to one less familiar is known as _maieutics_. The relevant school process, in which we lead from familiar native examples to less familiar principles of a different culture, was termed "ethno-maieutics" by Burger (ms.), who expounds its further principles there.

CHAPTER XXV

CULTURAL PATTERNS OF, AND APPLICATIONS FOR, SPECIFIC CULTURES

Having discussed the elements of education cross-culturally, we here begin to consider the cultural patterns of the principal Southwestern United States target groups. We also shall, within limits, propose how these cultural patterns should be utilized rather than suppressed within the classroom. An example of the differences and combinations possible is shown in the empirical report one often hears, to the effect that the preferred United States learning style is for Whites of middle class self-directed by the pupils. But for Whites of the working class, so goes the saying, the preference is for classrooms strongly directed by a teacher. And for Negroes, the best learning comes, it is alleged, via pupils mutual aid.

The cultural irrelevance of Anglo-type schooling for such ethnic groups is well inferred from the comment made about the Harlem Negro pupil by Dianne Gannon (quoted in Forbes 1967b?:23). The Negro child "discovers that the school is not about life as he knows it at all. It doesn't have pictures of the kinds of people he knows. It doesn't help him develop the skills he needs for the world in which he lives. . . . It forces an alien linguistic and learning style on him, and if he cannot make the adjustment of being one person in school and another in Harlem, it abandons him to the street. . . . The school is a harshly foreign institution."

Heretofore, this manual has been generalized so it might be applicable to virtually any culture. From here, the material concerns Southwestern specified cultures. The reader interested in other cultures can, however, see details of education and enculturation in cultures other than the Anglo-American.

In part three of Spindler (1963), among those there detailed are Hopi Amerindians, the West African Bush School, Israel, Truk (Micronesia), Japan, Manus (near New Guinea), the Menomimi Amerindians, etc. And, more importantly, the reader may generalize *principles* to apply them to her own ethnic population. There are many ethnic groups in the Southwest, including Mormons, Cherokee Amerindians, Chinese, etc. However, considering such matters as numbers of population, cluster, and intensity of exoticness, we feel some benefit will be gained by considering Hispanic; Negroes; Amerindians in general; Navajo Amerindians; Pueblo Amerindians; and Yankees.

An overview of three major groupings (Yankee, Hispanic, and Amerindians-in-general) has been prepared by Speiss and Leventhal ([1968]:32-34), generally derived from Zintz (1963:probably 90, 151, 175, 200-202). We have slightly reworded it and show it as Figure 2. Since many of the generalizations, such as *mañana*, must be explained in ethnographic context, however, the table must be modified by the descriptions that occupy the following half-dozen chapters.

FIGURE 2

A SUMMARY CONTRAST OF YANKEE/HISPANIC/AMERINDIANS

I	II	III	IV
Sector	Yankee	Hispanic	Amerindians-in-General
1. Human Mastery of Nature	Men must harness and cause the forces of nature to work for him.	Subjugation: If it is God's will.	Harmony: Nature will provide for man if he will behave as he should and obey nature's laws.
2. Time Orientation	All living in our society is oriented to the future.	Present: The important goal of life is going to heaven after death. One passes through this temporal life only to receive his reward in the next.	Present: Life is concerned with the here and now. Accepting nature in its seasons, we will get through the years, one at a time. If the things I am doing now are good, doing these same things all my life will be good.
3. Level of Aspiration	Climb the ladder of success. It is measured by a wide range of superlatives: first, the most, the best, etc.	Work a little, rest a little. Follow in one's father's footsteps. Be satisfied with the present.	Follow in the ways of the old people. Young people keep quiet because they lack maturity and experience. De-emphasize experimentation, innovation, and change.

FIGURE 2 (continued)

I	II	III	IV
4 Work	Success will be achieved by hard work.	Work to satisfy present need. Work is particularistic, operating on emotional response rather than subordinating the individual to the societal institution: A businessman first considers himself as a kinsman to a man asking for credit, and secondly as a businessman.	One should work to satisfy present needs. Accumulating more than one needs is selfish, stingy, or bigoted.
5. Saving	Everybody should save for the future. A penny saved is a penny earned. Put something away for a rainy day. Take care of the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves.	Traditional pattern included sharing within the extended family group. In cultural transition, Spanish American suffered considerable economic poverty. Those established in the dominant culture accepted Anglo values in sharing.	One shares freely what he has. One of the traditional purposes of the Shalako is that a weatherman can rather anonymously provide a ceremonial feast for his village.
6. Adherence to time schedules	Take care of the minutes and the hours will take care of themselves. In practice, Yankees become enslaved to time schedules, clockwatchers.	The expression for "the clock runs" translated from the Spanish is "the clock walks," producing a "manana attitude."	Time is always with us. There is unhurried inexactness with appointments because "We operate on Indian time."

FIGURE 2 (continued)

I	II	III	IV
7. Acceptance of change	Change, in and of itself, is accepted as modal behavior.	We may follow in the old ways with confidence. This life on earth is endured only to win eternal life in Heaven.	We may follow in the old ways with confidence, and react to change.
8. Explanation of Behavior	Nothing happens contrary to "natural law." There is a scientific explanation for all behavior.	Witches, fears, and non-scientific medical practices may explain behavior.	Mythology, fear of the supernatural, witches, and sorcery may be used to explain behavior.
9. Cooperativeness	Competition and Aggressiveness: One competes to win. Winning first prize all the time is a coveted goal.	Humility: Acceptance of the status quo, perhaps submission.	Cooperation: Remain submerged within the group. A man does not overtly seek offices of leadership or attempt to dominate. In sports, if one wins once, he then lets others win.
10. Individuality	Each individual shapes his own destiny. Self-realization for each person is limited only by his capacities to achieve.	Obedience: The Catholicism routinizes life placing emphasis on obedience to the will of God.	Anonymity: Accept group sanctions. "Sink" the individual in the group. Keep life rigidly routinized in conformity.

CHAPTER XXVI

PATTERNS AND APPLICATIONS FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS (HISPANICS)

Because Spanish-speaking Americans "seem" more like Anglos than, say, Amerindians, the Anglo school system may take them more for granted. Furthermore, the Spanish-speaking number the largest minority group by far in the Southwest. Consequently, we shall devote relatively more detail to customs and educational opportunities of the Spanish-speaking than of other Southwestern groups. A few of our sources will derive from Latin America; but there is much resemblance of customs there with those of the Southwestern Hispanics.

The reader probably is familiar with Anglo customs. The Southwest has a wide range of degrees of acculturation between such Anglo patterns and those of the Hispanic. Consequently, we cannot possibly describe each. Instead, we offer the "purest," least acculturated Hispanic modes. Most of the unattributed descriptive parts of this chapter derive from Munro S. Edmonson's exquisitely balanced analysis, Los Manitos (1957) It is based on fieldwork (ca. 1950) in rural Northern New Mexico and adjacent Colorado and Arizona.

Acculturation works spottily, fitting the local land situation, economics, history, even personalities. Consequently, we do not allege that this rural, Northern New Mexico description of some 18 years ago is the standard through today's Southwest. Our purpose is to present a rather "pure" Hispanic culture so the reader may use it as a baseline, and place his own local situation somewhere in between it and the middle class Anglo folkways.

We shall first consider some crucial Hispanic history and cultural values; then social structure, with special emphasis on the extended family system. There must of course be overlap since certain values have structural equivalents, such as familism, the value, and the family, a social structure. And lastly we shall view the pattern differences from Anglos, and offer some suggestions to utilize rather than to suppress or conceal the differences.

Conflict of Descent Systems

Spanish history is a conflict of different cultural systems of descent reckoning. Even in the ancient world, the upper classes took on the patrilineal system, while the lower classes maintained the bilateral system. Centuries of warfare converted most of the Spanish population into simultaneously adopting conflicting parts of both systems. This outcome favored class difference, as we shall see.

Communities Not Individuals

The Mexican Americans traditionally organized economic units as communities, not as individuals. For example, the land was cultivated and harvested by entire family groups; grazing was done without formal regulations on land belonging to the entire community. By contrast, the Anglos introduced a new type of economy in about the mid-19th century; individuals, surpluses, and marketing were important (Ulibarri 1958:56).

Historical Attitude Toward Education

When the Hispanics were in a true frontier situation, "there was little need for formal education" (George I. Sanchez, quoted in Ulibarri 1958:37). Religion was taught by priests and parents. Literacy was taught by the priest or the local scribe. But there was little to read, and most communication was by word of mouth. Hence there was little need for such literacy. Since there was no market system, weight and measures had to be merely approximate. Only the priesthood required formal training; even public office needed little more than common sense. As a result, Hispanic culture had little interest in formal education, and was skeptical of book learning (*ibid*.).

To see the difference between Mexican American and Anglo pupils, we may turn to any of the many later statistics available on this matter. For example, in 1950, Chavez (an Anglo county of New Mexico) had 98 percent of its pupils with some schooling; 24 percent completed high school, and 7 percent completed college. By contrast, in Rio Arriba, a county with an 80 percent Spanish-speaking population, the respective figures were: 14, 9, 2 (University of New Mexico, cited in Ulibarri 1958:54). Such differences reflect not only values, but the wealth or poverty of the respective areas, and the preferences of the political powers that determine relative fiscal appropriations. Since drop-out is maximal in high school, Samora has suggested (1963:150) that more scholarships be devoted to *that* level.

Cultural Values

Hispano cultural values emphasize traditionalism, familism, paternalism, dramatism, personalism, and fatalism. We discuss these ethoses in the next sections.

Traditionalism. The Hispanics' belief in custom is revealed in such matters as seniority by age contrasted with the Anglo value of "accent on youth." Another contrast is between legitimateness of ritual by referring it to long established authority among Hispanics. (We may contrast the Mormon Church's emphasis on *contemporary* revelation!) In economics, traditionalism is more inconsistent as Anglo institutions have made headway. Their main lever has been to change land ownership laws.

Familism, *Paternalism*, *Familidad*, *La Familia*. Not only are family loyalties important, but their influence extends through the entire culture, modeling relationships even beyond the kinship. Indeed, the conceptualization of the entire community as a large family is seen in derivatives of the term for daddy (*papá*): priest (*padre*), the Pope (*Papa*), employer or political leader (*patrón*), godfather (*padrino*), buddy (*compadre*), etc. The husband-and-father represents the family in most community functions. For example, when a temporary employee on our laboratory staff was offered a permanent appointment, she (although quite emancipated in Anglo terms) felt obliged to request and receive her husband's permission. Gradually, even Catholicism has come to have a familistic nature.

La Familia, or the extended family, encompasses and places importance on relatives as distant in Anglo terms as the fourth cousin. The Hispanic extended family "includes grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins of the third and fourth degree" (Charles P. Loomis, quoted in Ulibarri 1958:26-27). This extended familism, *la familia*, has great binding power. In rural areas, the extended family might even form its own community. In a city, the whole group tends to live in the same section of town. Its members give one another mutual support, as in planting and harvesting. If any one of the extended family has a resource, such as food or clothing, he shares it with his relatives.

The father tends to be paternalistic, but can become autocratic. The mother provides the affection for the whole family. The extended Hispanic family has provided for the welfare of the society remarkably well despite the isolation and other hardships that the people encounter in a semiarid region (Ulibarri 1958:29; 32; 33).

The Hispanic system has a set of extended kinship terms to cover the ceremonial relationship established at baptism, creating the _compadrazgo_. This system is far more important than the Anglo godparent relation. It extends to other life situations, such as marriage. The basic descent group tends to be bilateral kindred, even though the Anglo system has replaced this with patrilineal inheritance surnames.

Recognition occurs even of distant relationship, and with it, its rights and duties: Temporary hospitality would always be given to a visiting kinsman, however distant. Inheritance of property is bilateral. To insure that every child receives an equal portion, land is subdivided repeatedly, even only if there is a small plot to begin with. This situation sometimes creates an inefficient subdivision, and reminds the anthropologist of other cultures (such as mainland China) where similar situations eventually pressured major and even sudden social change.

Hispanic Naming

Personal naming differs from English in several respects. Upon marriage, a woman assumes not only her husband's last name, but, just before it, the prefix "de." Thus, Rosa Leos, marrying a Mr. Baca, becomes Mrs. Rosa Leos de Baca. However, the son, somewhat as in the British custom but omitting a hyphen, uses both his parents' last names, with the father's preceding. Thus, a son Jorge has the full name: Jorge Baca Leos. These customs reveal the bilateral structure of the family and the dominance of the father (Landes 1965:80).

So close bound are Hispanic groups that even their continued visiting, despite distance, is expected. For example, though Puerto Rico is several thousand miles from New York, the 1960 candidate for the governorship of Puerto Rico extended his campaign speaking with a visit into New York City. For, he pointed out, 30,000 Puerto Ricans return from the island daily every year (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:100).

Aided with the knowledge that most Hispanic children have this bond of relatedness, the teacher should encourage it. She should, for example, permit the child to sit with other kin who may be in his classroom even if she does not believe them to be closely related. Similarly, children should be allowed to eat with persons they prefer, who will more often than in the case of Anglos turn out to be kin, even if of different ages (in contrast to Anglos' eating by age grade).

Also, retaining one child while promoting a kin of the same age may work great hardships on Hispanics because of the closeness on kinship which overweighs the importance of cognitive accomplishment. The child's reference group should be his own older kin, and not non-kin who merely happen to be the child's own age. Thus, the child will be able to build on existing kinship loyalties.

Another effect of the social network may be on attention span. Hispanics, growing up in large extended families, probably learn to attend to several conversations at once. Consequently, they see nothing wrong in speaking to other students in class while the teacher is speaking. In the opinion of Pascual (1968), they can perceive both conversations. Certainly this question deserves controlled experimentation.

Dramatism

Hispanic culture importantly includes spontaneity and color. Indeed, substances are interpreted as if they were attributes; thus, the Spanish language's "attributive generalization" makes an adjective like *enganchado* ("hooked") equal to a noun meaning one who is permanently in that condition--in this case, "contract laborer." Furhtermore, drama is added by community wide emphasis on life crisis such as baptism, and ritual intensification such as the village dance (*baile*). In these environments of theatricalism, the patrón proudly displays his wealth. Even the lowly sheepherder may "fling" his month's wages in a dramatic two day fiesta. He does not equate time, money, and service, as does the Anglo; to the Hispano, a day's work is only a day's work!

Machismo

Continuing the Hispanic ethnography principally of Edmonson, we find that flirtation and courtship sees every Hispanic participating vicariously; by contrast, in Anglo culture, they are done privately. Overlaps between male and female behavior are found much less than in Anglo culture. Their contrast is greater--as shown by the girl's coquettishness and the boy's aggressive pride (*machismo*). Obeying these patterns, the teacher of Mexican American children should wherever possible be male rather than female. If the teacher is a female, she should constantly bring in males and provide male sex-identity symbols for the boys; their presence will reestablish her role. For example, she might bring in janitors, mailmen, the principal of the school, the bus driver, etc. This Mexican American problem, incidentally, also appears in the 'overly' feminine classroom of the Anglo suburbs in much of the United States.

Hispanic dramatism is especially illustrated by a formal and colorful commemoration (fiesta). Such a procedure can readily be adapted by the school system. For example, instead of condemning dropouts, the school could hold an annual event that particularly commemorates and calls attention to individual "stay-ins"--that is, those children who reregistered at a particularly difficult time.

Dramatism raises prestige, hence can make unique matters acceptable. For years, Latin America disdained nursing because it involves such menial tasks as the handling of bedpans. Similarly, since safety engineers had to wear coveralls and to demonstrate safety measures on factory machines, industrial safety was low-ranked by Hispanics (Hall 1959:65). Yet even these measures could be made acceptable. Since dramatism is preferred to menial tasks, the teacher might discuss them by theatrical means, such as assembly halls, mirrors, costumes, tape recordings (including music), etc. Safety engineer face masks, for example, could be likened to those of the glamorous astronauts.

Cognitive approaches should be intermixed with emotion. The fruitful results are seen in the case of a Mexican American teacher who had a remedial English class. Ninety-five percent of the pupils scored in the 0 percentile on the Cooperative English Test. Undaunted, she told them that "simple people with deep feelings could write beautiful poetry as well as highly educated men." And in return, she received some superb poetry in good English (Wolman 1962:456; cf. Landes 1965:70). While no behavioral science explanation is offered, it is possible that part of the dramatic improvement is due to the substitution of affective (emotional) material, generally much dearer to the Mexican American heart than the usual "instrumental" material, such as mathematical problems, that fills most Anglo classrooms.

Personalism

Hispanic culture emphasizes personality even more than Anglo culture. To some, the former even "seems to approach anarchy." It places morality on a personal basis, unlike the Anglo who abstracts and ideologizes loyalty. A characteristic pattern, especially in the purer Spanish part of the culture, is the single hero, such as the matador. Prestige owes to his continuing valor, rather than his achievement in killing the bull. Compared with that personalistic expression, role playing is less important. Impersonal arrangements such as commercial credit are avoided in favor of personal loans. One's individual dignity is to be respected in relations with other people of whatever station. Such Hispanic personalism is not to be confused with Anglo individualism. The latter separates individuals into atoms. But Hispanicism simultaneously emphasizes affectional relations to a wide group of other persons, especially kin. While working within an organization, especially a nonleadership position, the Mexican American is supposed to be rather self-effacing and cooperative. By contrast, he is culturally encouraged to be personalistic and dramatic in leadership positions (as when called on in school, or in unstructured situations such as at a party).

Buena Manera de Vivir, "The Good-life Style"

The Hispanic's concept of the proper amount of respect and obedience is sometimes expressed as *buena manera de vivir*. It is proper to follow the conventional manner of living, the way that has traditionally proved good. This attitude too could easily be utilized by the school. The curriculum should be taught, regardless of how modern it is in fact, as a tradition that is conventional to the Spanish community, rather than as a "possible future investment" (words that are much more meaningful to the Anglo than to the Hispanic child).

The Hispanic "Rascal"

One of the traditional personality types in Hispanic culture is that of "rascal," or engaging rogue. Another is the separation of male and female roles; the maleness is glorified as machismo, with the feminine role as one of modesty and resignation and suffering. Consequently, the Hispanic boy will act out this ideal role, defying his teacher with bravado and showing that he resents having to respond to a woman, preferring a male teacher. And if the female teacher responds by increasing her authoritarianness, she further violates the ideal (Hispanic) role, thereby losing additional respect.

One way to avoid this or to minimize its effect is to encourage the endorsements of male adults, such as the assistant principal (Fuchs 1967:33-36).

Self-effacement of commoners. In contrast to the foregoing dramatic personalism of the individual in an unstructured situation is organizational self-effacement. Even if a Hispanic is doing efficient and stimulating work, the employer will not know of it, especially if the employer is of a different cultural background, such as Anglo. Therefore, the employer often will unknowingly bypass the Hispanic in promotion (Ulibarri 1968:4).

One obvious cure for the teacher who wants to promote some Hispanic students is to inquire from many persons, and not to rely on her own, culturally distant, information.

Knowing this, the teacher should employ ways to evaluate children that don't require the Hispanic to call attention to himself.

Fatalism

There seems to be a Mexican American belief that one person (or one's culture) cannot control its environment; this is _fatalism_. Hispanic culture is alleged to say, _Que sera, sera_, "whatever will come, must be!" The Hispanic often makes himself appear the hopeless object to whom things happen, rather than his own master; even the language reflects this passivity, as in the use of the passive voice such as _Se Perdio_ (it lost itself). Preventive medicine and life insurance are slighted. Attempts to avoid death are not made, but there is stoicism and resignation; indeed, a familiar topic of conversation is death. It is assumed that an unchaperoned boy and girl will inevitably make love. Architecturally, the village blends "passively" into landscape, unlike the Anglo village that seems to dominate it. Soil erosion, conservation, and technology such as artificial birth control, are slighted. Hispanic culture emphasizes duty and loyalty rather than motivation, ambition, success. It undoubtedly is this syndrome that gives rise to the concept of postponed action, _mañana_, as dominating Hispanic culture. Politics is believed separate from morality and ethics, so there is no great surprise if a politician is found to be, by Anglo standards, less than a saint. If it is futile to fight fate, then it would seem that the teacher's change mission is doomed. Here is an example:

When an Arizona teacher asked her fourth grade class of 35 Mexican Americans to make three wishes, only one was able to make more than one.

"The whole idea of being given an opportunity to . . . speculate, is alien when one comes from a background . . . which depends upon day to day existence . . . where hope has been consistently denied" (Wilson 1968:7).

Yet this philosophy of fatalism, que sera, sera, is erroneously interpreted as meaning that everything is limited, especially the ability of the Hispanic child.

But even so "fatal" a philosophy as fatalism need not deter the teacher. Instead, we would suggest that the creative teacher reinterpret this phrase to mean that everything is fated to a "life trajectory." Instead of relating the fatalism to the student himself, the teacher might apply it to mean determinism. And this determinism should apply not to the student himself, but to the institutions, persons, and objects with whom he can come into contact.

Thus, practical chemistry is ordinarily considered a subject suitable only for a culture believing in the possibility of controlling its environment--a "promethean" culture rather than a fatalistic culture. Yet under the principle of que sera, sera, the chemistry course could show that a particular fertilizer "must" produce a particular growth under given circumstances. The student who uses a fertilizer need not reorganize his personality to farm more strenuously and to aspire to the ladder of success. Rather, he need be taught only to choose a correct fertilizer. Once chosen it must work; que sera, sera! Similarly, a certain fertilizer such as phosphate must grow crops better. By interpreting que sera, sera as a guarantee rather than a limit, the teacher can creatively make promises. Thus, the child "must" develop into a brighter and more accomplished child than his parents.

Likewise, if the steps toward any goal, such as high school entrance, are put in the form of a graph, the teacher can publicize a graph for each child, and *imply* that if he obeys each step of the sequence, he will automatically attain the next step. This, too, is fatalism! The next step simply may be "perfect attendance for a week;" if the child does so, he *must* be promoted to the next step! Here is the *que sera, sera*--but utilized creatively.

Allowing Nature to Take Its Course: *Hasta Mañana*. *Mañana* ("tomorrow") is the belief that nature will take its course; the required matters will somehow get done tomorrow or thereabouts. It is an attribute of fatalism. This attitude affects both attainment of fellowship and promptness of meetings. Thus, the Yankee ambassador will expect to see the Hispanic ambassador long before the latter feels that the former has resided long enough to be entitled to this honor. Again, the Yankee who has an appointment with a Hispanic will wait, depending on the importance of the person he is seeing, for perhaps 15 minutes before he reminds the secretary that he is to be re-announced. At most, he might wait 45 minutes, before leaving in anger. Yet this may be only the beginning of the "significant" delay interval in Hispanic culture (Hall 1959:26-27).

The concept of *hasta mañana* does not mean unreliability or laziness. It is, rather, the philosophy that a man is master of his own time, of his own energy (Landes 1965:74). This value can be maneuvered by the teacher. For example, if nature is merely to follow fate, then the teacher must not puritanically give the child homework to be done at the child's initiative at home. Consequently, all work must be supervised, and not left to individual option at home. There should, for example, be little homework, since there may be no one at home to help the child in English, insufficient light, insufficient space, etc.

Instead, such a school might have more study halls, in which the child, prevented from doing things other than academics, naturally will follow the mañana principle of letting nature take its course, and study at once.

Again, a counselor who wishes a Mexican American child to come to school more promptly should not ask permissively, "What shall we do about your latenesses?" Instead, he or she should fit the pattern of authoritarian patriarchy and tell the child that the proper thing to do is to come on time (Landes 1965:103).

Summary of the Values. Another analyst has rephrased many of the foregoing values, applied to Spain itself, quite briefly: Individualism in Spanish culture centers upon the honor, the *dignidad* of the person; hence the incidence of lifelong sorrows (*resentimientos*). By contrast, French individualism centers rather on the independence of the individual, and the Yankee counterpart is a more sharply focused "self-reliance." The Spanish personality seeks an essentially religious inner quiet, *serenidad*, an ideal very different from the French *art de vivre* with its emphasis on enjoying small pleasures and sociability. "And while these two [cultures] value the perfecting of one's own being above what one accomplishes, the American 'achieving society' puts the higher value on what one *does*--acting upon materials outside the self" (Nostrand 1967:11-12).

Summarizing the Mexican American, we find his culture traditional while the Yankee is "progressive." The Hispano values familism, while the Yankee favors individualism. The Hispano seeks paternalism, the Yankee egalitarianism. The Hispano is dramatic, the Anglo utilitarian. The Hispano is personalistic; the Yankee tends to seek groups and is morally abstract. The Hispano is fatalistic, the Anglo is activistic or promethean. The Hispano feels that all Mexican Americans should stick together. This sometimes is called the principle of "the race" (la raza), and can be easily utilized by the school: Where the subject matter cannot be changed, the examples used to illustrate subject matter should be changed to those of the target group. Thus, in a class consisting mainly of Hispanic children, the examples used to teach the principles of fine art could readily be artists from Spain (cf. National Education Association 1966). Here, then, are some basic values.

Social Structure

In looking at the Hispanic family structure, we must look at the basis of that structure, the lineage system, as opposed to the bilateral system which is more similar to cultures like Anglo.

The bilateral system isolates the individual so that he is free to choose a mate individually. By contrast, the lineage system, such as patrilineality, makes him a representative of his corporate family. His marriage therefore becomes a matter for careful negotiation between "sovereign" lineages. In the bilateral system, equal inheritance tends to minimize the importance of property. In a patrilineage, by contrast, the importance of clear property settlements is emphasized by such elements as restriction of inheritance to the owner's lineal descendants (=entail) or monopoly by the first born (=primogeniture).

The lineage system therefore requires a definite system of authority and precedence. The older person is the senior. Every person has a clear rank in society, depending upon the rank within that lineage.

Because a person's "progress" is blocked by all of his seniors, the system may become unstable. Certain methods can be developed to stabilize it. One is age-grading, in which the threat of horrendous supernatural punishment causes younger brothers to obey the rules. Another system is bride price: A young man cannot get married without going deeply into debt to all of his nearer relatives for the dowry. Consequently, his relatives are interested in his well being until their debt is repaid. Furthermore, part of the debt concerns his father-in-law in some distant lineage. Consequently, that distant lineage also is concerned for their new son-in-law's success. Thus, most of the lineages in a society become linked by lines of credit and expectations. They become staunch supporters of status quo. The importance of lineal organization in Latin America is reflected in a number of institutions: authoritarianism, the church, the caudillo militarist-politician; the hacienda, a landed estate instead of small economic units; the arrogance of personal manners; deference in address; extreme manliness (machismo) toward women; etc.

Yet there is an element of equality throughout the Spanish culture, including Latin America. Edmonson (1967:51) mentions such counter-rank organizations as egalitarian religious fraternity (=confradia, or cofradia); the autonomous corporate village (Pueblo); the democratic city government (govierno or municipio); the sheepherders' union (Mesta, etc.).

The opposite strains of ranked lineage and egalitarianism "do not result in a blend or compromise. Both sets of attitudes are present in full degree. . . . Anyone who grows up in the Spanish family will have the experience of subordination and superordination--but he will also experience the solidarity that knows no rank. . . . Much of the drama of the Hispanic style can be traced to this" (Edmonson 1967:51).

On the campus, for example, there is, simultaneously, exaggerated deference to professors and extreme loyalty to one's fellow students (*compañerismo*).

Religion

The Hispanic population is so predominantly Roman Catholic that religion is not an issue (Hall 1959:98). It is the warp onto which the drama of life is enacted.

One of the most important ceremonials of the year in the Hispanic town is the Fiesta, or Day of the Patron Saint. The ceremonies include: *vispera* (Eve of the Saint's Day), with church vespers, confession, and community dance, *día del santo*, which includes a high mass, morning procession, and evening dance. People come from all of the *ranchitos*, surrounding villages, and even distant towns and cities. Expatriates of years past return to enjoy the festivities. The population may treble. This gives an air of great solidarity to the town, unlike the fragmented Anglo town.

The most elaborate and serious religious observance is, however, Holy Week (*Semana Santa*). The emphasis is on the morning of Good Friday, with the crucifixion and the sorrowing Virgin. This "pessimism" differs from the Anglo "optimistic" interpretation of the Resurrection. Such, then, is the intertwining of faith and community. Because Hispanic culture does not separate ethics from religion, it might be desirable (if legally permissible) to involve as teachers or advisers such persons as priests in the teaching of ethics and philosophy.

Science in the Hispanic Culture

Science is not conceptualized as separately as in Anglo culture. It may therefore be well mixed with other problems, especially religion (to the extent allowed by regulations). For example, biology might be made more acceptable if the lesson could (where legally permissible) open with prayer.

Similarly, because life sciences deal with such problems as reproduction, the Hispanic children might feel more comfortable if the attendance in such classes were made monosexual.

Hispanic culture has a number of medical specialties (one corresponding somewhat to the Anglo chiropractor, another corresponding somewhat to the Anglo midwife). These would seem to be logical people to be involved in the teaching or discussion of physiological subjects. [At Rough Rock, Arizona, the Navajos tend to enlist their medicine men to teach similar subjects.]

Hispano Age Grades

Hispano age grades are classified by Edmonson as the following.

Niño: ages zero to approximately five (cf. Anglo, "toddler"). Until the third day, the baby traditionally is fed diluted animal milk, *manzanilla* tea, warm water with a little sugar in it, etc. Wet nursing is rare until the third day.

Child training is very permissive. Families are large, and there are other siblings or other relatives to cater to the child's wants. Weaning generally is forced by the imminent arrival of a younger sibling.

Then weaning is gradual. Toilet training is slower. As the child acquires language, he gradually acquires small household tasks. Childhood presents few frustrations and deprivations.

A considerable part of his learning is provided by the community at large, which is a "general" family. The child is taught to respect and obey all his seniors in the village, whether or not they are kin. Simultaneously, they protect him from outsiders and natural dangers.

Meanwhile, the *niño* learns Spanish, much kinship structure, and the rudiments of religion and technology. By age six, he knows only a few English words. He has begun to learn ranching and farming through games and minor tasks. His diet resembles that of the adult.

Muchacho (compare Anglo "youngster"). At approximately age four to six, the *niño* enters school and becomes a *muchacho*. He begins to learn English. The entry to school is likely to be earlier if the child has older siblings in school and if the school is in the village.

In many cases, kin and villagers tell the youth what to do, and he or she is not expected to comment (Pascual 1968).

He becomes responsible for chores or even real jobs, and especially becomes a leader with regard to younger children. He suddenly is segregated from the opposite sex. At the same time, he begins to learn the sex mores.

Hombre (compare Anglo [adult] "man") and *Mujer* (compare Anglo "woman"). In Hispanic culture, adulthood or middle age is attained not so much by age as by independence: A male becomes an *hombre* and a female becomes a *mujer* primarily on achieving economic and civil independence, marriage, and a household that is at least partially separate. Such a person begins raising a family somewhere between age 16 and 25. The Hispanic is considered an adult at a generally younger age than an Anglo. A man continues to learn about his religion through participation in managing his church or his Penitente chapter. Kinship and age are more important in providing prestige than his occupation, as compared with Anglos. The most prestigious roles are those of *patrón* and *jefe*, and for these roles a large family almost is a prerequisite for success. Males spend a considerable part of their time meeting friends, walking, drinking, talking, loafing--all outside the home. The man ordinarily does not entertain friends in his home. He learns that his gang will respect promiscuity, providing that it is done discreetly.

Viejo (compare old man, "oldster"). The aged, especially old males, are in Hispanic culture at the top of the hierarchy. If an oldster remains head of a large family, he need make no effort to be well taken care of and to have a major influence on the family councils. If, however, he is isolated, he may be distrusted, even suspected of witchcraft.

With advanced age comes stoicism toward death. Then there is a simple funeral service. Little care is lavished on cemeteries or on the departed ancestors.

Hispanic roles may also be distinguished by sex.

Macho (cf. manliness): The Hispanic male has prestige, freedom, and superiority over the female. He is waited on first at table, eats first, gets first seat in a crowded room, is relatively immune to criticism and punishment. The man's world generally is outside the home. Virtually all specialized roles belong to males: priests, politicians, bosses, laborers, Penitentes, leaders, and followers. Such specialization is formed by organized gangs of his age mates. This group, the "plebe," has freedom of the village, while the girls are increasingly restricted to the homes. Physical punishment becomes fairly severe at home. Within the "plebe," leadership depends on physical prowess. The muchacho must still obey all his seniors in the village, however. Frequently he must leave school to make economic contribution to the family. By the time he is about 15, he does the work of a man. And around age 16, the muchacho is considered a full "culture-bearer." He has learned its male role, its dance patterns, the concepts of clandestine courtship and amorous adventure. Often by about 17, girls are married; otherwise, they are considered old maids at twenty. From these facts emerge a general lesson for Anglo teachers: to consider the Hispanic as more mature than his chronological years might seem.

Hembra (cf. femininity): The Hispanic woman's duties, by contrast, are in home and family. She maintains the man's home, bears his children, and cares for them. As a result, there is more continuity in the enculturation of a girl into a woman than a boy into a man. She remains directly under her mother's eye and gradually is introduced to housekeeping and child care. There is no real feminine counterpart of the plebe. Few friendships, except a small number of close ones, are formed between a girl and her age mates. The girl's sexual education derives almost entirely from her mother; at marriage, she will often be quite ignorant of sexual physiology.

In rural areas, only a few roles besides that of the homemaker are available to women--midwife or curer. In cities, of course, there are many other opportunities--such as working in factories, restaurants, and so on.

Marriage--Esposo/Esposa or Marido/Mujer (husband and wife). The Hispanic is required to marry outside of his kindred (familia). The Catholic Church favors the marriage of the Hispanic to other Catholics. But, as is true with all ethnic groups in the United States, there is generally a trend to marry within one's own class, ethnicity, and religion--the process of endogamy. The wedding is held in a church. After marriage, most couples have their own (neolocal) residence separate from parents. Thereafter, the wife's role is restricted and subordinate. Divorce is very rare. To gain adult respect, one must be both successfully married and a successful parent. A woman's career is her marriage excepting such occupational rarities as becoming a nun. Her charges include small livestock like chickens. Small truck gardening may involve both spouses.

The Male Hispanic--Explorer and Conquerer. According to Jane and Chester Christian, "the male in Hispanic culture is an explorer and conquerer--of ideas, of lands, and of women. . . . Stable expectations develop solidarity within the family" of the Hispanic more than in the Anglo family (quoted in Belliaeff 1966:62). The father is the final arbiter of the household. However, most other members of the family generally influence the decisions. The father is the disciplinarian, and often is severe to a child older than about six. Insults to one's mother are mortal; but insults to a father are unthinkable. Being proven wrong in any matter degrades the male concept of honor (Galbraith 1965:73).

Since the armed forces offered definite possibilities of authority, honorable scope, limits, rewards, and punishment, many young Mexican Americans from slums frequently volunteer (Landes 1965:51).

Because agricultural communities compartmentalize life less than urban communities, the Hispanic father is home during more of the child's waking day than in the Anglo situation. Consequently, he does much of the child's disciplining. In Anglo culture, by contrast, the mother both punishes and loves, creating the ambivalence called "momism." Extensive farming and ranching is done by men only. Hauling wood and water, and chopping wood for fires, are the duties of the husband, but are relegated to the children.

Hijo. The son owes his parents not only respect and obedience and love, but also economic support. He may be called on to provide entire support of the aging parents; this is considered a fair return for the care that the parents gave him as a child. Unlike the urban Anglo, the Hispanic boy knows his father well; he escapes direct supervision and tutelage from his mother.

Hermano ("brother"). A brother is obliged to help siblings of both sexes. The older brother is almost a parent to the younger brother. The relationship of siblings is very close.

The Female Hispanic--Caretaker of the Home: Mamá. The principal charge of the mother, addressed as Mamá, is caring for small children and educating girls. She gives orders around the house, and the child's obedience stems from love and duty rather than fear of punishment. The mother-child relationship emphasizes tenderness and de-emphasizes respect and authority. This attitude is religiously symbolized in the image of the Virgin and, to a lesser degree of the Saints (Santas). The female does not represent strong authority to a young Hispanic. Hence, the female teacher might establish rapport by exercising tenderness and a loving manner rather than being a strong, rigid, authoritarian figure. On the other hand, the Hispanic child probably would feel more comfortable if a male teacher demanded respect and were more authoritarian.

The Hispanic woman must marry at least by her early twenties, so she has no time to establish her career. "She is not expected to have to 'use' the education she receives from the public school, but she is expected to learn to help take care of her family from an early age" (Jane and Chester Christian, quoted in Belliaeff 1966:62).

The wife owes the husband absolute sexual fidelity, but is expected to tolerate his peccadillos. Since the ideal woman is supposed to remain in and near the house and household, few Hispanic women will tend to volunteer for such "pioneering" activities as Vista or the Peace Corps. Rather, their niches are in such activities as sewing, knitting, crocheting, and needlework. These are preferred to such masculine activities as painting, authorship, and physical sport.

A woman's attractiveness is supposed to go unnoted by an Anglo, but remarked on by many a Latin American. Consequently, both Latin American girls and boys expect a pretty girl to be whistled at (Landes 1965:101).

A male-dominated culture, such as Mexican American, tends to be suspicious of young women who wield public authority unless convinced that they are accountable to seniors (Landes 1965:50). When dealing with a Mexican American student, then, the young female teacher might be wise to imply or emphasize that her male superior who is in the school system backs her and has (temporarily) given her authority to handle matters in her classroom.

Hija. The chaperonage and sex education of the daughter is the responsibility of the mother. The relationship of mother and daughter is particularly close, since only about 18 years separate them.

Hermana (sister). A sister is awarded special tenderness. She is busy even at age five, when she may care for younger children. A brother is especially obliged to protect his sister and her chastity as she grows beyond puberty. "In Latin America both sexes expect their 'will-power' to be provided by other people rather than by personal inhibition" (Hall 1959:66-67). Consequently, merely placing a man alone with a woman may be automatically believed to cause sexual intercourse. As a result, the teacher must be careful not to force any situation in which one sex is required to be with the other.

Pariente (kinsmen). Other kin also figure in the Hispanic web of social structure. The grandfather (abuelo or tata) is supposed to be less stern than the father. The grandmother (abuela or nana) may be playful toward her grandchildren. The uncle or aunt may be called upon to stand in the position of parent. Marital relationships parallel the blood ones, but there is much tension in the role of mother-in-law (suegra) and brother-in-law (cunado).

Kinsmen are obligated to mutual assistance. The intensity decreases with the distance of kinship. A friend (amigo) is considered equal to a distant kin. Hispanic culture makes other kinsmen easily available. They serve as parent surrogates. Consequently, they relieve the intensity of affect that the Anglo mother displays toward her children.

Baile (periodic, community-wide dance). The single tradition that gathers the entire community is the periodic dance (*baile*). It is the principal situation in which the two sexes may mingle freely in public. It is the secular equivalent of the religious concept of a unity of "hearing the church bell." Visitors are quietly resented. Because they increase the sexual competition for the rather few marriageable girls, the *baile* sometimes produces violence.

Neighbor. The concept of neighborliness differs between Hispanic and Yankee. Being geographical neighbors makes Anglos at least partially friends; a neighbor has a "right" to borrow things and also an obligation to help his neighbor in an emergency. Among Mexican Americans, by contrast, neighborhood is less important than kinship. In fact, to discourage persons nearby from feeling that they have relationships with a mere neighbor [and sometimes to clarify property title,] the Latin house is often built around a patio hidden from outsiders by a wall (Hall 1959:199). (If Yankees were to try such an approach, they might be sued for having built a "spite fence!"

Because the Hispanic world tends to be more closely knit than the Anglo world, the former tends to avoid the stranger--who almost always includes the teacher. Consequently, the Anglo teacher should be careful in making aggressive moves toward children until she is well known.

Just as Pig Latin and other codes create ingroups among Anglo students, so the use of Spanish by Mexican American students should be considered equally legitimate (Landes 1965:99). Occasionally, such use of Spanish in a school where it is the ethnic minority has led to mimicking by the Anglo students, and even to gang fights. One solution to this problem is to select Mexican American volunteer students to serve as "cadet teachers" teaching Spanish to Anglo students. The morale of the former and the respect granted by the latter has soared (Landes 1965:56;63).

Basic Differences Between Anglos and Hispanics

Some description of the differences between Hispanic and Anglo cultures in the Southwest appears in many publications. One is Manuel (1965:31-44), which gives brief descriptions of the effects of church, migrancy, language, etc. A more self-contained description was offered by Lyle Saunders (discussed in Ulibarri 1958:45-46), who perceived these differences:

1. Language differs.
2. The Anglo is futuristic; the Hispanic is tradition oriented.
3. The Anglo seeks change; the Hispanic distrusts change.
4. The Anglo prizes what is accomplished; the Hispanic prizes what a person is, especially his family lineage.
5. The Anglo believes he masters the universe, and seeks to improve conditions; the Hispanic attempts to adjust to the universe.
6. The Anglo prefers independence; the Hispanic does not necessarily.

Talcott Parsons also reflected on the major differences between Anglo and Hispanic goals, and concluded that:

1. Anglo values achievement; Hispanics value ascription, that is, what an individual is, especially his family lineage.

2. The Anglo is universalistic; the Hispanic is particularistic.

3. The Anglo looks on persons with neutral affection; thus, an Anglo doctor looks at the person he is treating as a patient rather than a friend; the Hispanic tends to be affective.

4. The Anglo seeks the maximum good for the maximum number of individuals; the Hispanic looks at the specific good for those closest to him (Parsons, discussed in Ulibarri 1958:43-44).

Formal Organizations

The status of a Hispanic is a relatively fixed ranking, as opposed to Anglo fluidity. Consequently, Hispanic boys prefer activities like wrestling that help establish their ranking at the same time as they provide muscle building. Girls will prefer to stand around and watch the boys rather than interact as equals.

There are traditionally few formal organizations in the Hispanic village culture, unlike the Anglo culture which has credit unions, chambers of commerce, etc. There have been only the church, the Penitente Order, and irrigation committees. They, plus the extended family, have had broad obligations and powers (Ulibarri 1958:29). When the extended family began to disintegrate, partially under the pressure of the Anglo (economic) system, "the people were left no social organization to facilitate the process of transition" (*ibid.*). Only in the last few years have formal, especially political type, organizations arisen among many of the Hispanics. Examples of these are the American G.I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens. /Their attitudes toward needs for education are discussed in Burger (1968b)./

Law. Yankees expect formal interpretation of law by courts, whereas the Hispanic culture expects informality and adjustment on the part of the family. This is true because the Hispanic family has a size, a stability and an influence that is far greater than the Yankee's. Hence, the Hispanic law system is fairly flexible, because it allows the use of influence in extreme situations, whereas the Anglo system strives to prevent the introduction of influence (Hall 1959:107-108).

Attribution of Value Differences

We must not attribute the value differences between Anglo and Hispanic to a "superior" culture of either. Rather, anthropology suggests that values of all types, including religion, unconsciously are altered by a culture to fit a broader pattern. "The Spanish American in his traditional setting did not particularly abhor poverty, because it was [according to Christianity] as easy for a poor man as for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. In fact, the Bible reminded him, 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.'" Because wealth is secondary, Mexican Americans have a wide range of ranks; Ulibarri has argued that Hispanic culture has a very small middle class as compared with the Anglo culture (1958:10-11). Sources of income are diffused, not formalized. In Latin America, "it is not uncommon for one man to have a number of simultaneous jobs which he either carries out from one desk or which he moves between, spending a small amount of time on each" (Hall 1959:29-30). Such "moonlighting" often is considered immoral by the Yankees. The diffusion of activity in economics parallels sociability: Latin America encourages intersocial involvement and "polychronic" (=many things at once) functions in its space arrangements. Symbolically, it has plazas, whereas Yankees have linear "Main Streets" (Hall 1966:163).

Additional Observations for Teaching

Let us carry further the applicability to children of these Hispanic patterns. We assume that the teacher is either an Anglo, or, having been educated at a college, has, even if once a Hispanic, now become somewhat "angloized." She cannot sympathize as well with the Hispanic children as a Hispanic mother who hasn't gone to college. To a lesser or greater extent, the school therefore presents an alien culture. And from that alien culture of the Anglo school, the Hispanic children return home belligerent, seeking a quarrel with their parents; confused, frustrated, and disappointed. The child develops an inferiority complex which he readily expresses in the neighborhood gang of other rejected children like himself. This undermining of parental authority, disaccrediting of his home culture, and disassociating the child from his identification with society are largely to blame for the high incidence of Mexican American juvenile delinquents and dropouts in the schools (Theodore Anderson, cited in Belliaeff 1966:62).

Subjects Valued

The subjects that might be valued for teaching are not necessarily obvious. Many parts of Hispanic culture value mathematics, perhaps for such practical reasons as the necessity to engage in close figuring in simple commerce, such as household marketing. For instance, a small child may be given several _tacos_ to go out and sell; his family can hardly afford to wait until he is old enough to learn how to make change, how to get the best price, etc.

Depending on the wealth of the community--and of course Hispanics have some families in all classes--academe might therefore make education culturally relevant by discussing real-life problems. One school, for example, noted that most of the poorer families kept chickens. Consequently, it taught certain social studies [perhaps including mathematics?] in terms of the care of poultry (Landes 1965:125).

Affection May Work Cross-Culturally Where Cognition Doesn't

Because some of the most successful Hispanics have tended to feel alienated from their ex-culture, it might be desirable to reenlist them thereby both reuniting them and giving the Hispanic children examplars. One way to do this might be for the school to send a written invitation to a few of the leaders of the Hispanic community, even if they have since moved into Anglo neighborhoods. It would invite each to visit a class, preferably an auditorium, at a certain hour to give a discussion of his own life and "how he succeeded." It is very difficult for anyone to resist such legitimate flattery! Furthermore, the school might tape-record the interview, with permission of the interviewee, and then mimeograph it or put it otherwise into such a form that future Hispanic classes could hear it. (This corresponds, among the Navajo, to the Rough Rock School session in which successful Navajos are being interviewed for their biographies to appear in several forthcoming Rough Rock books.) Probably such strategy would appeal more to those who have hope than to the very alienated, or anomic.

And so we see that Hispanics' extended family (in contrast to the Anglo nuclear family) permeates their culture, and reminds us that the children of each culture require separate treatment.

CHAPTER XXVII

PATTERNS OF AND APPLICATIONS FOR NEGROES

Having made suggestions for the non-Hispanic teacher to utilize the cultural patterns, we may now discuss another group, Negroes.

To what extent should an ethnic manual apply to education of Negroes? This is a debatable question. Some social scientists consider American Negroes as a social class within United States culture. Others, and more recently certain militant Negro groups, consider that some or all Negroes should not or do not have cultural affinity with Anglos. Rather, they should be either culturally distinct, or relate to a non-Anglo ethnicity such as African or Muslim, hence should be considered a separate ethnic group. These movements may be seen as attempts to attain Negro unity rather than merely separatism from Yankee.

We take no position on these viewpoints, probably all of which are true under certain conditions. Instead, we simply note that in fact the educational attainment of American Negroes is, for a complex of reasons, significantly less than the education of Anglos. Consequently, an educational laboratory operating in a region which includes at least 100,000 Negroes must consider the sociological and cultural factors involved.

We do not imply definitely that Afro-Americans are or are not a different ethnic group from so-called Yankees. Our goal is to broaden the factors that should be considered in altering education, and not to make any so-called "racial" judgments.

The Southwest has a wide range of degrees of acculturation between Negro and Anglo cultures. We cannot detail each one. Instead, as in the case of the foregoing described cultures, we shall offer the "purest," least Angloized Negro modes. We ask the reader to modify this description to the degree actually existing in his area.

Historical Factors Disadvantaging Afro-Americans

Unlike the Hispanic who came to America of his free will, the Negro arrived here under slavery, or the nearest thing to it. Africa had begun to ship bonded persons to Virginia in 1619. At first, they were considered in the same status as European indentured servants. But, between 1680 and 1750, the loss of familial ties, plus their docility, combined to enable their exploitation. Their rights gradually diminished, and dark skin began to be associated with the servile class.

The northern United States gradually eliminated slavery, but it did not abandon an attitude of racism. Rather, abolition was to be made simultaneous with the exclusion of free Negroes. And the farther west the Negro went in the 'free states,' the harsher was the segregation.

When the United States conquered the Far West around mid-nineteenth century, Hispano Mexican attitudes, which were generally tolerant toward Negroes, were replaced by some Anglo American intolerance directed both against Africans, Amerindians, Mexicans and Orientals (Forbes 1967?: 21-22).

Negroes were, then, assembled in America from diverse regions of

Africa and the West Indies as slaves or under unnatural circumstances. They were naturally handicapped by the lack of common language and cultural bonds. Without these ties, and without common historical experiences which create an élan, there was little structure on which to build a 'clannish' ethnic group.

The one great exception has been the Negro church, according to Glazer and Moynihan (1963:33). It relieved Negro frustrations, but did not, at least until recently, build cohesion.

Yet, as contrasted with certain other ethnic groups, there was no pulling together of, say, Afro-American business men, professionals, close family ties or close geographical associations. For example, when one studies West Indian Negroes, he finds that they are outstanding in business enterprise and educational achievement. (Perhaps this is because their islands were almost completely Negro, and therefore, Negroes held almost all ranks of position in society [Glazer and Moynihan 1963:36]). In the United States, however, business is "the most effective form of social mobility for those who meet prejudice." American Negroes generally have not been business men. The reasons have been many; for example, the fractionation of families deprived them of opportunities for pooling kindred finance. And this separation from business may be one of the many reasons why they may have not developed the same social mobility as certain other ethnic groups. The income of Negroes from Negro-owned business is only one forty-fifth as great as the income of Chinese from Chinese-owned business (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:36-37). Further cultural history of Negroes in America has already been published elsewhere (Forbes 1967?).

Only a few years ago, Negroes probably considered themselves a class within the United States; today they seem rapidly to be reperceiving themselves as a culture different from the Yankees.

There is reason to believe that certain Negroes who wish to escape discrimination reconceptualize themselves in other nationalities or groups, especially when moving to a new environment, such as from South to North. For example, Landes (1965:166) tells how a family would "Islamize" itself by suffixing its name with a syllable such as "-bey" or "-el."

We have no comment as to how to deal with these matters from a legal or administrative standpoint. However, from a social standpoint, it is well known that a person's self-image must be accommodated if his motivation is to be enlisted. Consequently, the teacher would be wise to play along with the new self-image, rather than to threaten it by investigation.

Sex Roles in the Family

The Negro family in the United States is an entirely American institution. It was shaped by the pressures of slavery in the American tropics and subtropics adjacent to the Carribbean (Edmonson 1967:52). The specific impact of slavery throughout the American tropics has been the role of the male within the family. His position has been weakened, thus weakening the family itself. The family has become matriarchal and variable. American slavery allowed slaveowners to do what they would with their "property," often subjecting the Negro woman to sexual exploitation without legal protection. Furthermore, long periods of male unemployment afterwards caused the man to play a secondary and marginal role in his family (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:144).

The structure of the American slave family was largely restricted to the exercise of motherhood by Negro women. They were the breadwinners and the economic stabilizers. Their dominant role in Negro family life was well documented by social scientists long before Daniel Moynihan's recent report on the Negro family (Edmonson 1967:53). "Strictly speaking, the matriarchal family as it is found in the lower class Negroes is not a family at all; it is a kind of self-perpetuating women's club. . . . It rests on the ideology that men are utterly unreliable and undesirable" (Edmonson 1967:53). In such circumstances, the growing boy feels rejected in his maleness. He becomes highly susceptible to extrafamilial influences in attitudes and values. By the fifth or sixth year, he will often seek his security of the street gang. In later life, only the strongest masculine symbols will activate his identification: the gang, the army. "To grow up in a matriarchal family is to live in a greatly sexualized universe, in which weakness is despised and feared and only sexual solidarity is real" (Edmonson 1967:54).

By contrast, the American Negro subculture accustoms women to many positions of authority (Landes 1965:113). It also accustoms the female to the position of family leader. The proportion of Negro families with female heads is much greater among Negroes than among whites at all income levels, and has been rising in recent years: in 1950, 8.5 per cent for Whites versus 17.6 per cent for Negroes; in 1966, 8.9 per cent for Whites versus 23.7 per cent for nonwhites (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:129). These data refer mainly to urban families. (The data on rural Southern Negroes in the United States, by contrast, suggest that they are patriarchal.)

Education

While some cultures strongly favor (formal) education, and others devalue it, the position of the Negro society has long been ambivalent. "Negroes do place a high value on education. . . . And yet the outcome is a poor one. There are not as many good Negro students coming out of the high schools as there are places in college to put them" (Glazer and Moynihan 1963:45). Indeed the major task of one national scholarship service has been, not so much to get money or school acceptances, as to find sufficient qualified Negro students who would be willing to go on to college. The president of one scholarship service reported that there were five times as many places available in Northern colleges for Negro students as the number actually qualified and available (*ibid*.). But, of course, a part of the lack of their "qualifications" is the structure of the Yankee society, and not merely a problem of Negro "intelligence."

Within the schoolroom the new teacher will be confronted with what appear to be non-Anglo learning patterns. However, she must not become disenchanted with her work. For example, one game sometimes employed by young males (Negro and some other ethnicities) is called "Playing the (Dirty) Dozens." In this game, students, often friends, exchange offensive word references with regard to such matters as family behavior. The game is a "pecking-order" test of manhood. Hence, the teacher must not try to eliminate it. Rather, she should calmly call an 'official recess' to the game until class should end (Fuchs 1967:60-61). Just such language building, although of course on a more conventional basis, must be encouraged among Negroes. Because the ghetto Negro has been discriminated against, he has learned a "new" language, distinctly his own. The teacher may have communication problems in trying to make herself understood as well as to understand. This barrier forms just as much of a gap as cultural diversification did for the Negro's ancestors. Perhaps Negro ghetto schools might include formal instruction in urban Negro dialect, and even courses in Swahili, Yoruba, or Arabic (Forbes 1967?:23). These activities would give Afro-Americans both language unity and closer cultural ties. An obvious problem in this ideal is finding teachers who are fluent in the ghetto and African languages.

The present cleavage between Negro student and Anglo education is a sore point in contemporary unrest. The most dramatic evidence of the relationship between inadequate (Negro) educational practices and civil disorders lies in the high incidence of riot participation by ghetto youth who have not completed high school (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:12). According to that Commission, the rioters' grievances varied from city to city; yet there were several that could easily be identified overall. Twelve such grievances were identified in the affected cities and divided into three levels of intensity. The most intense of the 12 was police practices; the least intense of the 12 was inadequate welfare programs. "Inadequate education" ranked fourth among the 12. "For many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation" (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:4;11). This shortcoming results not only in the ghetto's child not wanting to go on to a college, which is primarly White, but also in tension and dissention between the discriminated Negro youth and the middle class White student.

Many possibilities are available in compensatory programming. The United States Civil Rights Commission's report, Racial Isolation in Schools, listed these: (1) remedial instruction; (2) cultural enrichment; (3) overcoming inhibitory attitudes, as by improving self-esteem through the teaching of Negro history, and (4) preschool education (Orr and Pulsipher 1967:31). However, as we indicated in the earlier chapter on cultural pluralism, we do not find either the Anglo or the Negro community facing the central problem of melting pot versus poly-ethnicity.

Having considered a few facts about the United States Negroes, and especially the difficult relations between the sexes, we may look at similar structures among Amerindians.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PATTERNS OF AND APPLICATIONS FOR AMERINDIANS IN GENERAL

In considering American Indian customs, the reader may be assumed to be familiar with Anglo customs. Now, the Southwest has a wide range of acculturative degrees between the two sets of patterns. We cannot detail each possibility in the mosaic. Instead, as in all these ethnographic chapters, we shall offer a rather "pure," un-Angloized Amerindian motif. We ask the reader to modify this description to the situation actually extant in his area.

A further caveat is that hundreds of separate Amerindian tribes have occupied the area now called the United States. Their customs and ways differed widely. Some were agricultural, others hunting; some aggressive, others subdued; etc. Obviously we can give only a few sketches of their dimensions rather than an authoritative description of some standard.

To consider Amerindian potential in cross-cultural education, we must recast Anglo legend. The White man, Columbus, did not discover America. Rather, the Amerinds, apparently the first human occupants of the American hemisphere, discovered the Europeans when the latter landed, as newcomers and upstarts, and invaded their homeland. Once again believing in a form of racism rather than cultural pluralism, the invaders imposed a melting pot philosophy. But they alone were to heat and stir the pot: "The missionaries who historically first brought schools to the Indians of North America wanted to do much more than put them into contact with the Great Tradition of Western Civilization. . . . The missionaries established schools and so operated them as to attempt to transform Indians into diligent, thrifty, individualistic farmers." In so doing, the Whites were not merely going to make the Indians into Christians. The targets weren't merely going to be made Whites in Indian skin. "They were going to be transformed into the missionary's notion of what a good and proper Indian should be" (Murray Wax 1967:68). A very complete, yet brief summary of the resultant history of Amerindian education under Anglo domination has been provided elsewhere (Nash 1967).

The pre-Whiteman Amerindians were generally in balance with nature (perhaps with the exception of the Plains, where there was a recent "overcropping" of buffalo). Redomesticated by the Whites into a far smaller and less fertile area, they have suffered a great decline in living standards. Especially is the shortfall felt today when they are surrounded (as by television) with constant material temptation. The present disadvantage of Amerindians as compared with the general United States population is shown by the following figures:

Aspect	Amerindians	General Population
Median family income	$1,500	$6,882
Unemployment rate	45%	5%
Average schooling for adults	5 years	11.7 years
Average life expectancy	63.5 years	70.2 years
Infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births	35.9	24.8
Incidence of tuberculosis per 100,000 population	184	27
Average school dropout rate	50%	29%
Birth rate per 1,000 population	43	21

(Education Age, April 1967, cited and charted in Bass and Burger 1967:6).

Motivations for Schooling

These handicaps are not easily to be overcome. Amerindian children face a double problem: the difference from the Anglo middle class economic norm, and the difference from the Anglo middle class cultural norm. "The family and community background from which most Indian youngsters come exhibits in various proportions a local Indian culture on the one hand and elements of a 'culture of deprivation' on the other" (William Kelley 1967:43-44).

Anglos, obsessed with economics, believe that all people, both Anglos and ethnic minorities in the United States, go to school, especially high school, in order to prepare for a career. Yet social science investigators, such as R. Wax and M. Wax (1964:54-55) believe that, at least in the case of certain Sioux Amerindians, they go simply because they do not want to be separated from their young friends who are in school. "Young men have an additional reason--their passionate desire to play basketball and participate in sports. . . . Young women are particularly attracted to the high school by its promised novel and exciting social experiences (boys, dances, and movies) and by the proximity of the /Bureau of Indian Affairs/ agency towns . . . and of the taverns and juke boxes. . ." (*ibid*.).

The dire facts of poverty, detailed above, do not affect all aspects of schooling equally. Rather, they particularly damage Amerindian student prestige. Impoverishment prevents the prerequisites to settling down in class. Hand-me-down dress makes the Amerindian feel conspicuous. The importance of clothing in a cross-cultural school where Anglos are teachers and/or students is seen from answers when a survey of several Amerindian country high school girls asked them what each would do if she received one hundred dollars. Without exception, everyone replied, "Buy clothes!" (R. Wax and M. Wax 1964:31). Amerindians believe that their clothing reveals them. Parents whose children are not working but in school suffer loss of income. The only proud youths, the best dressed, are invariably those who are the high school dropouts (Forbes 1967?:29).

Because of the combination of shyness and embarrassment over poor clothing, one Amerindian child was encouraged by his teacher to do his reading for her class by standing outside a closed classroom door (Forbes 1967?:30)!

By around the tenth grade, social activities begin to become very important: clothes, popularity, dating, and so on. In this respect, the Amerindian is at a great disadvantage; he is discriminated against in dating the (Anglo) majority, since mating socially involves a narrowing of groups; he cannot afford the good clothes because of the lower income that his family probably has; and so on. Consequently, dropout is very great beginning around the tenth grade (Larry Martin, quoted in Forbes 1967?:22).

Because there is such great selfconsciousness about inferior clothing (e.g., Ad Hoc Committee 1967?:33), we think it desirable for schools to offer Amerindian children more instruction on self sewing. Particularly would this be desirable since there is a great deal of money to be saved by repairing an item oneself, and because Amerindians have such outstanding skill in psychomotor activities.

Cultural Values

Some of the characteristics attributed to the Amerindian pupil, especially the disadvantaged one, are these:

1. He probably doesn't trust middle class Yankees.

2. He is realistic: "Children who have to wake themselves in the morning, dress themselves, get their own breakfast or go hungry, dodge adult cruelty frequently, learn to cope with adult neglect or even rejection as very small children; such children have learned to concentrate on immediate problems and practical matters of survival. . . . Saving up for a rainy day is foolish. And things which are abstract, such as ideas, thoughtful opinions, concepts, generalized statements, theories; these things are bypassed. . ." (Crawford and others 1967:9).

3. The content of schooling deals with people and situations that seem totally unrelated to his own neighborhood; it seems like a fairy tale.

4. Recruiting fellow adolescents toward frustrating the teacher may prove more satisfying than obeying the teacher.

5. He cannot communicate much of feelings through speech, nor can he understand much of what he hears in the foreign language of English.

6. Being a slow (not stupid) learner, he must act cautiously.

7. Because he has not been taught to attend, his attention span shifts rapidly.

8. He will lack many of the Anglo middle class experiences and customs, such as politeness, respecting privacy, respecting property.

9. He has low aspirations.

10. Through poor nutrition or inadequate health habits, he may have a low energy level.

11. He probably pays less attention to Anglo standards of neatness and cleanliness.

12. While deciding daily attendance in terms of social satisfactions, Amerindians often view the eventual benefit of education entirely in terms of its job market value. Yet much of the curriculum of a nonvocational school is unrelated to use (Crawford and others 1967:9-12).

The culturally "disadvantaged" child may in fact have certain characteristics that are really advantages. According to the same source, they are these:

13. The Amerindian can express emotion with less inhibition.

14. He is probably ready to follow a tradition of cooperativeness and mutual aid (within his own group, not necessarily with the school system).

15. He is probably mature and self-reliant. Let us detail this trait before proceeding.

"Wild Indians" are a reaction to a foreign culture; Amerindian tradition carefully prescribes rules. In many cases, the Pueblos, Navajos, and Apaches all have utilized the mother's brother as disciplinarian and teacher (Zintz 1963:29). In some pueblos, the disciplinarians are masked gods, or kachinas: If a child has been bothersome, the parents may secretly inform a person who will don the kachina mask and come to threaten and frighten the child. The parent will intercede for the child, promising that the child will be good (Zintz 1963:29). The child thereby feels his parents side with him. By contrast, the Anglo parent berates the child and appears to side with the outsider against the child.

Nor does Amerind discipline encourage enterprise: "Indian friends tell us that they do not praise or reward their children for doing what is proper and right. . . . On the other hand, the 'bad' or illintentioned is censured and the child who makes mistakes is shamed, which, in an Indian community, is a great punishment. . . . As a result of the way they are raised, very few Indians will try to do something at which they're not good" (Wax and Thomas 1961). The teacher should thus encourage private, not public (aloud), attempts by the Amerindian student.

Instead of the objective and forceful rewards and punishments associated with cognitive cultures like the Yankees, Amerindian cultures tend to be more subtle. Thus, storytelling is frequently used to suggest proper behavior. In Navajo myths, exemplary conduct is performed by the character Horned Toad; unsocial behavior, by Coyote (Condie 1958:44). Storytelling by student or teacher should be increased.

Amerindian Responsibility

Besides careful discipline, other potentials found by Crawford in the Amerindian child were these:

16. He is probably accustomed to performing very responsible family chores.

17. He probably has superior physical coordination and skills (not to be confused with energy level).

18. He is probably not overly sensitive, and has a sense of humor.

19. He is probably not fooled by prestige, but is influenced only by true performance.

The applicability of these patterns to schooling is great. A potential example is seen in the Amerindian's combination of piety with economics: Schools in our Christian society often allow absences for Christian religious holidays. Similarly, they might allow absences for Amerindian activities which are economic as well as religious. (One such instance is the special rice harvest work, which must be performed in the very short ripe time, by the Chippewa of Minnesota.) (Crawford and others 1967:56).

Communality, not Individualism

As an example of how the various Amerindian tribes differ, we mention that many are communal, somewhat as the Pueblo Amerindians, whereas others are rather individualistic. For example, the Chippewa of Minnesota tends to be self-reliant, not interfering in another person's affairs nor competing with him (Crawford 1967:23-24).

Most Amerindian cultures, however, emphasize sharing. When Amerindians are suddenly put into an Anglo situation, such as in school, this cultural trait may cause trouble. There is a very diffuse line between sharing, borrowing, and stealing. One way around this is for schools to offer private lockers to the students, rather than, as some do according to R. Wax and M. Wax (1964:33) forbidding the use of locks. Then the individual Amerindian may begin to acquire the very property by which he believes Anglos rate him.

Sharing is an adaptive pattern since Amerindians often inhabit difficult environments. In a desert culture, such as the Hopi, "no one gets ahead unless we all get ahead. The threat of death from thirst and starvation hangs over all of us" (Goldschmidt 1958). The same attitude no doubt carries over into the school, where one Hopi student will be unlikely to raise his hand before another one, since he has always been taught not to excel.

"Anglos like to have many separate rooms for food preparation, eating, resting, and sleeping. Not so the Southwest Indian. He likes a closely knit, harmonious group about him. He sees no need for putting each one in his separate room. . . .

"To the Navajo, /there is/ 'togetherness' of one big, happy family in one room. . . . An isolated room of one's own could be interpreted as rejection" (Zintz 1963:88).

Another phenomenon resulting from sharing is equal behavior. Thus, in many Amerindian cultures, voiced declarations are considered as boasts that shame others (Landes 1965:51). Either volunteering answers to oral questions, or making comments when another student has previously been called on, seems competitive to the Amerindian. Since such cultures favor egalitarianism, the proper attitude is to remain silent. For the same reason, the teacher should praise an Amerindian child privately rather than publicly. Indeed, if an Amerindian child has been participating but suddenly stops, this action suggests that his peers are criticizing him for trying to excel; the solution would therefore be to stop separating him from his fellows (Wight and Snow 1967:27).

It is for these reasons, rather than from ignorance, that many an Amerindian child does not answer in class.

One solution to the egalitarian dilemma would be to emphasize media that do not simultaneously compare students, as does speech. Such a media would be a written test, as recommended elsewhere for Mexican Americans.

Sharing does not mean mediocre attainment, but only equality of visible output. Merely perfunctory performance at ceremonies was "never enough." They had to be made intense and alive before they could affect the rest of nature (Goldschmidt 1958). Consequently, a diversity of talent lies untapped. Since the Amerindian pattern is one of sharing, another possible application to the teaching is for the teacher to encourage "sharing of knowledge." Thus, since Amerindians like anyone else can see that some students are better than others, such a student should be encouraged, and given facilities for, such matters as an after-class classroom, in which to tutor his fellow Amerindians.

Self-Reliance

Sharing does not mean interference within Indian cultures. The White man is torn between these two ideals. On the one hand, he believes in freedom in minding his own business; on the other hand, he believes that he should be his brother's keeper. By contrast, the

Amerindian society is unequivocal: "Interference of any form is forbidden, regardless of the folly, irresponsibility, or ignorance of your brother. Thus, the righteous White man does not realize the rudeness of interfering conduct" (Wax and Thomas 1961).

Consequently, when an Amerindian is offered the opportunity to go to college, he considers this, not in the light of possibility for his personal advancement, but in the light of separating himself from the life trajectories of his fellow Amerindians. Instead of leaping at opportunities, he feels he may be separating himself from the norm (Goldschmidt 1958). A possible way to overcome this paradox is to convince the Amerindian student that his tribe will need him as a helper in its perils. Since he has been endowed with the abilities to profit from higher education, he must use them for his tribesmen's good.

Parochialism, not Cosmopolitanism

Amerindian culture recommends that a person's physical presence be familiarized before his intellectual presence. Consequently, the person visiting an Amerindian home will wisely remain silent for a few minutes (Landes 1965:105-106). "Thus, if one /Amerindian/ wishes to begin a conversation, even with a spouse, or relative, one first puts oneself in his line of vision. If he does not acknowledge your presence, this is a sign that he is occupied and you wait or go away. To address him while he is . . . meditating would be gross interference" (Wax and Thomas 1961).

The indirectness of the Amerindian approach is seen in its refusal to ask pointed questions. In a classic situation, an Amerindian who wishes to ride to a bus station will simply dress differently for breakfast, in the hope that the host will ask why he has dressed differently. In this way, the host could accept or reject the suggestion without arousing bad feeling (Wax and Thomas 1961).

Consequently, when the Amerindian looks directly at a person, staring at him, he considers the person he is looking at as invisible, beneath the notice of a highly observant man. When he looks away from a person, by contrast, he intends courtesy (Wax and Thomas 1961).

The face-saving strategems are elaborate. It is bad enough to ask any stranger many questions. It is worse if the questions are personal (such as the names of persons to whom the respondent is related). The interrogation is more uncouth if addressed to those Amerindians, especially Navajos, who resent such outsider curiousity (comment reproduced in Zintz 1963:353-354): "They will tell you, if and when they want to, when they know you that well."

The Amerindian is most reluctant to exhibit clumsiness or ineptitude before others. For example, a Maya girl will learn to operate a weaving or spinning machine in a factory by silently observing the operator. Only when the observer feels competent will she take over and run the machine (Manning Nash, cited in Wax and Thomas 1961).

Similarly, when a stranger, such as a White person, on his first conversation with Amerindians finds them silent and with eyes downcast, he should realize that he is not being snubbed or ignored. On the contrary, it is a combination of shyness and courtesy; "his words and actions are being observed with minute care. Once the Indian has discovered what his response ought to be, he will make it" (Wax and Thomas 1961). It is the newcomer who must justify himself. Because Amerindians judge people as individuals rather than as institutions, the (non-Amerindian) teacher should tell the children quite a bit about herself (compare Wight and Snow 1967:47).

Many Amerindian groups traditionally suppressed their emotions, particularly those associated with hostility. Instead of words or actions toward the person for whom the emotion was felt, the Amerindian would release the emotion in acceptable channels: warfare, dancing, sorcery, occasionally certain culturally permitted drugs. (The channel to modern alcoholism is obvious.) (Crawford and others 1967:17).

"The White man who finds himself in an unstructured, anxiety-provoking situation is trying to react with a great deal of activity. He will begin action after action until he either structures the situation, or escapes from it, or simply collapses. But the Indian, put in the same place, is brought up to remain motionless and watch. Outwardly he appears to freeze. Inwardly he is using all of his senses to discover what is expected of him . . . until the other actors show him the correct pattern. Once he has picked up the cues, . . . the Indian may respond with a sudden energy and enthusiasm that can bewilder the White partners." And the best good feelings are likely to arise between an Amerindian and Whites when both groups realize that the situation is novel and that accomplishment will depend on their ingenuity (Wax and Thomas 1961).

Tolerance, not Lockstep

Amerindian training in social sensitivity and in respect for others begins at birth--long before it begins for Whites: "To interrupt an /Amerindian/ child at play, or force it to do something against its will but 'for its own good,' is contrary to all precepts of Indian child rearing" (Wax and Thomas 1961). Such tolerance permeates redman societies. Amerindian culture avoids ultimatums, allowing almost unlimited time for consideration of a question. Consequently, the teacher who asks a question, which question may always be assumed by Anglo culture to have a time limit for answer, will be faced with an "obstinate Amerindian child" (cited in Forbes 1967?:72). In contrast to the "industrializedly" rigid Anglo school, there is less tension in those situations in which the Amerindian and the White man meet on grounds of equality or absence of power. "Thus, the White man often finds it easier to get along with the Indian when he is gambling, trading, partying, or simply 'chewing the rag'. . . . In such situations . . . the White man . . . learns to accommodate himself to the slow pace, sudden temperamental outbursts, and unexpected disappearances of the Indian" (Wax and Thomas 1961). Such mastery over absolute timing is a boon in some occupations. Because the Amerindian girl is calm and has plenty of empathy, she is preferred as a nurse over Anglos (Forbes 1967?:31).

Craftsmanship Versus Mass-Production

While Yankees concentrate their talents in the cognitive domain, other cultures are equally rich in affect and psychomotion. The reader will recall the discussion in the Industrialism chapter, above, concerning the disinterested mass-production of material goods in Yankeeism. Almost the diametrical opposite is true of Amerindian tribes. They have so emphasized craftsmanship that they traditionally require a high standard of excellence. If a person cannot do a thing well, he is expected to refrain until additional maturity or experience or observation or secret practice gives him the skill. If the matter is extremely difficult, he is expected to avoid the problem rather than to waste effort on it (cf. Crawford 1967:26). For example, at a house building, all kin come to help, but they perform piecemeal. Some watch from sitting on the grass, until there comes the need for each man's special talent. Then "all of a sudden there's that man on the roof, working away, laying shingles--because what he knows how to do is lay shingle" (Wax and Thomas 1961).

The richness of many Amerindian societies in the affective domain can be made realistic to our reader by one student's painting (presently shown for the first time). Figure 3 shows the artwork, "Single Deer with Rain Clouds," created by Fred Bowannie, Jr., a Zuñi Amerindian in the 11th grade of Zuñi (New Mexico) High School. (The full-color original painting may be seen in our Laboratory.) Such traditional Amerindian skill in art and other affect/psychomotion can readily be enlisted by the teacher. She should allow the child to draw (traditional) items. She must not follow the Anglo tradition of unimaginative realism. Note, for example, the "unrealistically" purple background, and the "artificial" cloud. It is just such interpretation that distinguishes the imaginative from the hackneyed, and Amerindian craftsmanship from Occidental mass-production.

A similar richness pervades most Amerindian religions. Indeed, sacred faith is not traditionally distinguished from works or mundane matters, as is often the case in Yankee society. The teacher must, then, not expect a Protestant-type separation between classroom activities and religious observations.

For example, an Amerindian child appearing with tar or soot on his body should not be accused of "dirtiness." First, the teacher should make certain that this is not part of some ceremonial in which the child has participated. Ceremonials usually involve some physical change, even if temporary, to the body (Steere and others 1965:85-86).

Conclusions

The greatness of Amerindian cultures is not to be found so much in cognitive activities, such as designing nuclear bombs, as in affective and psychomotoric doings. So judged, Indian culture has easily provided its share of riches. A very brief biography of approximately 140 leading Amerindians, both in public life, business, government, sports, professions, military, entertainment, and the arts, was listed by the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (republished in Wight and Snow 1967:49-57). The list includes tribal affiliations. We may close our discussion of Amerinds in general by looking to the future. The Yankee sees it gleaming with lifeless computers. The Amerindian does not: "The Indian peer society constitutes a cooperative unit. This unit can be turned toward learning or away from learning. Now, some proposals that have been made, such as, for example, for computerized education and programmed education, are essentially just devices to try further to break down that Indian peer society /of age-graded groups/ and individuate Indian pupils and say, 'You must exist and learn as individuals within the school. In my utopian way, I keep wondering whether we couldn't try instead to work with that peer society, to use it as an educational mechanism' (Murray Wax 1967:70). We must syncretize, not steamroller. The computer is neutral in the problem of individualism versus communalism. It is Anglo culture that spins off the already asocial Yankee into a lonely pupil sitting at an isolated carrel and talking to the lifeless computer. I find it entirely feasible that the same cybernetic system could be designed for more communal activity. For instance, a carrel could accommodate half a dozen students around a single keyboard. It could display tentative inputs, but not register answers, until each had contributed something to the answer. Again, the flexibility of computerization suggests that language lessons might be switchable for bilingual feedback in the tongue selected by the ethnic at the controls.

Such rearrangement would, however, require a cultural change from the insensitive industrial citizen, the "culturamus." It is a new appreciation of exotic sets of values. The need arises amidst much talk about rigid, backward cultures. We leave it to the reader to consider whether the rigidity characterizes the Amerinds--or the Yankees.

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These, then, are some general characteristics of Indian cultures. Since each is a rich entity, let us microscope two of the major Southwestern Amerindian groups. First we consider the Navajos, and then the Pueblos.

CHAPTER XXIX

PATTERNS OF AND APPLICATIONS FOR THE NAVAJOS

Now that we have considered the heterogeneity of American Indians, let us discuss the largest tribe in the Southwest--the Navajos (also spelled Navahos).

As we have apprised the reader at the beginning of each of these ethnographic chapters, the following description of the Navajos is a rather ideal, "pure" one. By no means do all of its elements coexist today in any one location. We must ask the reader to modify this "baseline" description to the acculturative situation actually extant in his area.

The Navajo Way

The Navajos, or Diné ('The people'), are an enclave representing a distinct "race," dress, language, social structure, religion, government and medical system. They are seminomads, traditionally on pastoralism. The typical community is a group of round homes, called hogans, plus corrals for sheep. It has a radius of about one-half mile. The hogan is compromised housing designed to cover an extreme of temperatures ranging as much as 70 degrees in a 24 hour period. The basic family is traced through the mother's line ("matrilineal").

Economics

After the United States defeated the Navajos, it sought to discourage their interference with the Anglo invading settlers and with Anglo herds by converting the Navajos into agriculturalists. However, anthropology reveals few cases in which herdsmen have successfully become agriculturalists. More often, herdsmen become craftsmen, even within industrial plants (cf. Provinse 1965). The principle reappeared for Diné: After five years, "it was clear the Bosque Redondo experiment had failed; the Navajo would not become farmers" (Charles A. Amsden, quoted in Condie 1958:32). They insisted on animal husbandry instead. (Presently, however, the majority of Navajo income comes from sources other than livestock /Service 1963:163/.)

Religion and Ethics

Diné do not sector their subsistence from the affective side of life. "White people 'turn religion on and off'. . . . With the Navajo it is quite different. Their world is still a whole." They do not even have a word or phrase to specify religion (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:122).

Yet religiosity pervades activities. Part of the way that a man proves himself is by being able to produce a number of sacred songs. Associated with such songs are moral "lectures" (Zintz 1963:318).

These traits await adaptation by cross-cultural schools. A teacher could motivate the Navajo student by expecting him to memorize or to transform data that he should be learning, and to "lecture" it to the other students.

Family

Family is a crucial concept for the Navajo. His family provides government, religion, economic sustenance, recreation, education, old people's welfare, procreation and perpetuation--all in one package unit (Condie 1958:45)! Nor is there the sexual role differentiation of the Hispanic. Navajo women have traditionally been strongly influential. Hence the schools should both enlist support of pupils' mothers, and not favor boys. But equality does not equal amalgamation. "In Navajo society, girls do not play freely with their brothers" (quoted in Zintz 1963:322). Therefore, the boys and girls should not be forced to mix in the classroom.

Communication

Navajos, especially Navajo children, tend to be quite reserved. The teacher must, therefore, wait patiently until the children become accustomed to the new environment if she expects the children to respond positively.

Similarly, Navajos rarely give direct answers to direct questions. They expect each other to keep their eyes open. They don't go around insulting each other by pointing up the obvious, or by drawing conclusions that the other person is perfectly able to draw for himself (Allen 1963:14-15).

Navajo gestures read differently from Anglos. Typical movements to indicate respect are covering one's mouth with one's hand and turning one's head upon being addressed (Roessel 1962:45).

If a Navajo child does not respond to certain gestures, we must remember that the Navajos sometimes indicate the position of something to which they are referring by pouting their lips, rather than finger-pointing at it (Ebert 1968).

Every language is complete for its cultural needs. But Navajo language differs exotically from English. The latter is more succinct than Navajo: "A little English adds up to a lot of Navajo" (quoted in Zintz 1963:352). We see intimations of such differences even in the few Navajo words that might introduce the reader in visiting or interviewing a Diné family.

Come in . . . Hago

Hello . . . Ya'ateeh

Pretty . . . Nizoni

My friends (addressing a group) . . . Kwa'asini

Goodbye . . . Hagoonee

Sir (addressing an old man) . . . Shicheii ('my grandfather')

Ma'am (addressing an older woman) . . . Shimasani ('my grandmother')

(all cited in Zintz 1963:357).

Valued Substances and Intangibles

Investigators have been able to identify items that the Navajos particularly value. They may be divided into two groups, substances and intangibles (Ethel M. Albert, discussed in Condie 1958:68-70).

The valued substances are said to be expensive clothing; unique horses; sheep, cattle, goats; tools, farm and range land, springs, water holes; well crafted jewelry; motor vehicles; corn and other food; hogans for shelter and ceremonial; riding gear; ceremonial paraphernalia.

Albert declared that the following intangibles are valued by Navajos: technological skills; ceremonial skills; fertility; social traveling; joking, teasing, drinking, dancing, enjoying sex (for which Navajo men should pay women); clan affiliations; oratory and knowledge (which should be bought); family; conservations of one's own property; deliberateness to fit the world pattern; learning English language, especially for economics; cordiality to one's local group; obedience to the needs of one's extended family; sharing of one's property if rich; redressing of one's sins; wariness of strangers and of novelty; quiescence in the presence of danger (Ethel Albert, cited in Condie 1958:66-67).

A related Navajo value is health. Indeed, a principal fear concerns illness and death (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946:132). This is taken more seriously by the Navajo than among the Anglo. Therefore, a teacher should avoid alarming her students with these thoughts, or relate school goals to health goals.

Differences Between the Navajo and Anglo Cultures

The Navajo has been distinguished from the Anglo in the following values: harmony with rather than mastery over nature; present time orientation rather than futurity; inexactness versus strict scheduling; mythology versus "natural law"; equal distribution versus saving; matrilineality (family descent through the line of the mother) and extended family organization and consanguinality (tracing descent through the family) rather than patrilineality, nuclear family and conjugality (tracing descent through the spouses).

Suggestions on Visiting Navajos

The impersonal school letter can never influence a child and his family as can a personal visit. Often an ethnic community inexpensively offers a go-between, or comprador, to bridge the gap. Since the Navajo believe that goodness is followed by material wealth, the visitor should appear well dressed (comment quoted in Zintz 1963: 360). To show appreciation of the culture, the non-Navajo might wear turquoise and silver (comment quoted in Zintz 1963:357). If a teacher seeks to enter a hogan, let her do so the first time with someone who already knows the person to be visited, such as a well-known pupil. She should wait until she hears the equivalent of, "Hago," 'Come in.' She then enters and immediately sits down, without waiting to be asked--sitting if necessary, on a box or sheepskin. Courtesy requires friendliness, and she should not expect to be introduced (comment quoted in Zintz 1963:355).

Education

If Navajos seem ambivalent toward (Anglo dominated) instruction, it may be because of its apparent irrelevance to life rather than any ingrained Navajo attitude. Indeed, those Amerindians have long admired the results of education, merely questioning its means. Thus, the Navajo War Chief Manuelito advocated education among his people in a classic statement: "It is as though the Whites are in a grassy canyon, and there they have wagons, plows and plenty of food. We Navajos are up on the dry mesa. We can hear them talking, but we can't get to them" (quoted in Condie 1958:117). For this frustration, the principal cure recommended by that chief was schooling: "My grandchild, education is the ladder. Tell our people to take it."

This, then, is a summary of the system of these industrious people whose tradition values herding, but who have proved highly adaptable. The fact that so empirical a society rejects current Anglo educational institutions may be a reflection on the latter rather than on the former.

CHAPTER XXX

PATTERNS OF AND APPLICATIONS FOR THE PUEBLOS

Having discussed the Navajo, we must now give consideration to another important group in the Southwestern United States, the Pueblos.

As we have apprised the reader at the beginning of each of these ethnographic chapters, the following description of the Pueblos is a rather ideal, "pure" one intended merely to serve as a baseline. By no means do all of its factors necessarily coexist in any one situation today. Instead, the reader must modify this ideal to the acculturative situation actual in his Pueblo area.

Unlike the diffused Navajos, the Pueblo tribe(s) tend to live compactly in villages; indeed, pueblo is Spanish for town or village. Such compact living requires careful obedience to social tradition. The "Pueblo's secretive nature, his cruelness to and irritability with alien influences of any kind can be easily understood in the light of centuries of repressive measures directed at his culture, first by Spanish overlords, and then by Americans" (Marinsek 1958:12;72). Unlike complex cultures which continually look forward, the Pueblos look reverently to the past, authenticating a matter by saying that it came with the first emergence of the natives in the "good old days." Thus, the entire society is, or at least, has been until fairly recently, devoted to perpetuation (*ibid*.). The same secretiveness toward outsiders has formed part of the syndrome characterized as "Apollonian" (restrained in emotion) (Ruth Benedict, discussed in *ibid*.:78).

Group Solidarity is extremely strong and prevalent in the Pueblo culture. "If Pueblo religion has a theme, it is that of fertility. . . . Water and fertility mean corn, and corn is synonymous with life" (Marinsek 1958:18). Crops require solidarity or internal cooperativeness between the people. Such a community is particularly pronounced in economic practices, but also in religion. A distinct separation is made in differentiating his own and outside religions. For example, Catholicism and Pueblo religion are carefully separated, compartmentalized. This is in contradistinction to certain cultures in which an alien religion is mutually reconciled to the native religion in "syncretistic" process (*ibid*.:33). However, while Catholicism punishes sin essentially after death, a disruption of the harmony of the Pueblo universe "immediately" harms the entire group: A breach of the moral code may result in *instant*, *corporate* *disaster* (Marinsek 1958:85;86).

To the Pueblo, religion is taken personally and cooperatively, for with them "their religion transcends all else. . . . All aspects of Pueblo life--the arts, crafts, and industries, social structure and religion--are inextricably woven, thoroughly integrated" (Bertha P. Dutton, quoted in *ibid*.:16).

Because the Pueblo life is thoroughly integrated, individuality is abhorred. For example, a runner who wins too frequently is debarred. Again, Pueblo songs are never of the bragging type that one finds among the Plains Amerindians, and innovation is discouraged even among the arts (Marinsek 1958:75;76).

Socially, every person in a Pueblo village belongs to one of the two kivas, such as the Squash People or the Turquoise People (ibid.:57). At the group level, entire villages are also polarized in one of several village groups.

The closeness of Pueblo life has dangers. Sometimes quarreling develops. "For some years, various Pueblos have been wrought by internal dissention and factionalism generally between so-called progressive and conservative elements."

Perhaps one manifestation for the dissention and factionalism is that gossip in the pueblo is more than just a time killing device; it is one of their most effective social sanctions (Marinsek 1958:57;62;65).

Although individuality is abhorred by the Pueblo culture, this is not to say that all members of it are equal. Indeed, a Pueblo can gain prestige in his community if he combines both the culturally approved personality of his culture and performs well in "mandatory" sex roles.

Thus, a man might gain prestige by superior farming or hunting or outstanding craftsmanship. A woman might do equally by being an excellent housekeeper or mother, or by creating outstanding pottery (ibid.:68).

Prestige also comes from generosity toward one's entire village. The prestige seeker sponsors a "Shalako house." (This is the growing of extra crops and the raising of extra stocks, in the preparation and distribution of which the entire village participates.) (Marinsek 1958:69).

But the prestige cannot be self-sponsored. The ideal Pueblo man does not do anything that will purposefully cause him to gain publicity, and he therefore shuns public position. Indeed, if he is selected for an office, he is visibly embarrassed. To be a success in the Pueblo culture--man, woman, or child--the required personality is one of placidity and patience, introspection, introversion, anonymity, and dependency.

Marriage within the traditional Pueblo culture has been "simply physical cohabitation of couples with intent to remain husband and wife" (Marinsek 1958:40-43). Activities causing the conception of children may be a "normal element of courtship." Children are prized, "no matter how" legitimate. Similarly, there is little bitterness in the event of divorce.

The Pueblo kinship system alleviates "broken homes." The home in many cases is the mother's. There she remains, using as assistant mothers the baby's aunts. Grandfather and grandmother, having remained in the home, assume the parental position of teaching the child what he will need to know in order to adapt to the Pueblo culture. When a new father marries in, he is supposed to be kind and adaptable to the home and all who occupy it (ibid.:43).

The pueblos stress generosity toward the children. In one (Jemez) Pueblo, "children are loved and fondled by all the members of the extended family. All observers are in agreement that permissiveness of adults to infants exists to a noticable degree. Weaning and toilet training are relaxed and unhurried. /Teachers take note!/ Frustrations are minimized. The child has no fixed or imposed schedules for eating or sleeping" (Florence M. Schroeder, quoted in Zintz 1963:168). Such affection does not mean, however, that children are allowed to be lazy. Indeed, children are early impressed about the importance of working hard (Marinsek 1958:80).

The economic unit of the Pueblo culture is the household. The subsistence of this basic unit is maintained by private or collective ownership of agricultural fields. All men cooperate in the work, and the crops go into a common storehouse; however, these crops, and houses, belong to the women. Sheep are owned individually by males, but are herded cooperatively. Profits from the shearing belong to the male, but from them he must provide clothing for himself, his wife, his children, and if necessary for his mother and for his sisters (*ibid*.:37). The economic distinction between men and women depends primarily on the location of the individual Pueblo, however.

In the Eastern Pueblo villages, descent is often patrilineal; hence boys are more highly prized than girls. The opposite condition occurs in the matrilineal /generally the Western/ Pueblos (*ibid*.:45).

What Pueblos Value

Pueblos value the things that are related to their religion. A wealthy person in the Pueblo community is one who is looked on as "one possessed of valuable ceremonial property or high ceremonial position" (Marinsek 1958:67). The stress should be placed, however, not on the results, but on the means, the spiritual striving.

The Roles of Sex

The Pueblo roles for each sex are learned through imitation. "Boys, at an early age, accompany their fathers into the field, and girls learn the domestic duties through imitative play--molding a piece of clay, carrying in water or grinding corn. . . . Children are never hurried to accomplish tasks beyond their abilities. They are generally given tasks suitable to their level of physical and mental development, and mistakes are readily forgiven" (Marinsek 1958:51). Since parents are believed entirely responsible for the molding of the child's character, the wrongdoer finds that its parents, and especially its mother, are blamed (*ibid*.). Here, again, this is not to say that the Pueblo child is allowed to take advantage of his situation, for the Pueblo child is impressed early in life with the virtue of courtesy. He and his adults are to try at all costs to avoid giving offense and to have a placid temperament (*ibid*.:79).

Religious training begins early. "Infants are taken to watch the dances. . . . It is not unusual to see a child of three or four at the end of a dance line, faithfully repeating the steps of the adult dancers" (*ibid*.). Children are initiated into a kiva or moiety between about five and ten years of age, and there they are given elaborate theological instruction. The training may include rigid physical and dietary restraints.

Discipline Without Force

Because of the rigid Amerindian physical training, the exuberance shown in their dancing--primarily religious--and the distrust of alien cultures, stereotypes have connoted the typical Indian as "coming in wild bands." In fact, however, Pueblo children tend to be shy (Marinsek 1958:50;94). Discipline is not instilled in the child by physical threat or punishment. The principle instrument of social control throughout the Pueblos is shame; the Pueblo people are hypersensitive to ridicule. This culture trait is utilized in upbringing. The infant remains relatively free; he is allowed to run about the entire village and play unsupervised with his peers. However, he is subject to increasing admonitions. "He is constantly reminded about conforming to the Pueblo personality ideals, and endless stories and legends are related to emphasize correct behavior. Physical punishment is rarely resorted to. Shame and fear are the primary agents. . ." (Marinsek 1958:48;96). Since the Pueblo child has been trained in self-reliance, he is not especially affected by the hickory stick. However, the bogeyman is a much greater reality representing shame and/or fear that does influence the Pueblo child to behave. Often when a child does misbehave, he is told that he is "acting like a baby." On the other hand, good behavior is greeted with a comment that the child is acting "just like a man" (*ibid*.).

The Difference Between Pueblo and Anglo Values

A contrast between Pueblo values and Anglo values would show that the former favors harmony with nature rather than mastery over nature; present rather than future; mythology rather than "natural" law; tradition rather than achievement; cooperation rather than competition; anonymity rather than individuality; submissiveness rather than aggression; work to satisfy present need rather than to get ahead; sharing rather than saving; relative timelessness rather than clock watching; humility rather than excelling; serialized prestige rather than hierarchic prestige (Zintz 1963:175).

Since it has been shown that Pueblo children play an important part in their society and are not to be taken for granted, it would be wise for a non-Pueblo teacher to consider her Pueblo students likewise. They have been reared by tolerant parents who allow mistakes and uniformity, and they will probably respond better to a teacher who will observe the environment of her students and make use of that environment in her teaching methods than to a teacher who won't. Shame works where threats (especially about graduation) won't.

Although the Pueblos are considered classics of traditionalism, it could be argued that every culture has sectors of change resistance. When Yankees pride themselves on changeability, for example, they probably mean technological change. It is with horror that they greet modifications in such customs as, say, sex.

Having discussed some aspects of Pueblo cultural patterns, we now turn to a curious culture whose systems are far too little analyzed objectively. This is a rather recently begun society--occupying a mere 200 of man's some 2,000,000 years. It is the so-called Americans--the Anglos, or Yankees.

CHAPTER XXXI

PATTERNS OF AND APPLICATIONS FOR THE YANKEES

The culture of the United States has been considered in many publications; but patterns have been scanned in many publications, scrutinized in few. Because it is vast, and, as a democracy is awed with statistics, we give a few highlights that may suggest its patterns and its involutions. We shall offer only those points believed both to be relatively unknown and to apply to educational anthropology.

The major source on the ethnographic view of the United States is the entire issue of American Anthropologist which is devoted to that subject (Lantis 1955:1113-1295, and especially DuBois 1955). A number of authors in anthropology and sociology have devoted many of their writings, to Yankee culture: for example, Jules Henry (1963); Max Lerner; Robin Williams; Kimball (1960); Marburger (1963); and many others.

The melting pot attitude discussed in the Cultural Pluralism chapter is a force that has discouraged analyzing the curiosities of the Anglos themselves. The anthropologist often hears, therefore, that he should discuss similarities, not differences, between Yankees and other ethnic groups. There is an implication that people (such as anthropologists) who discuss differences are somehow disloyal. In fact, however, the opposite is true. The differences preexist. The anthropologist has a scientific duty to report them. False vision comes from the person who, judging from outward appearance (such as whether a necktie is worn) decides that 'the motivations and goals of all peoples are the same'. In other words, it is not the social scientist who disturbingly distinguishes what is really identical. Rather, it is the chauvinist who slyly tries to homogenize true differences. And Warner and Abegglen's (1953) calculations, interpreted by Shaeffer (1958), suggest that only about 5% of the Yankees move into a higher class.

Family structure is a crucial difference between Yankees, who fractionate kinship into tiny, two generation "nuclear" families, and other societies. This contrast is neatly expressed in forms such as the popular song. The Anglo Americans "are obsessed with a cottage small beside a water fall--with a strong implication that a marriage license hangs on the wall. The Latin Americans are troubled by illicit love and the ungrateful women who are to be punished by God for betrayal and abandonment of hapless males. Negro Americans are haunted by an interminable battle of the sexes. . . ." (Edmonson 1967:55).

The Yankees are a group living in the territory between the Cree of Canada, the Yaqui and Tarahumare of Mexico, and the Arawak and Carib of the Antilles. Consequently, they are no more entitled to call themselves "the Americans" than the British would be justified if they should call themselves "the Europeans." For, as we calculate in the Plan of the Manual chapter, they constitute just 22% of the land, and 43% of the populace, of the group whose name they would preempt. They are another of the world's 2,000-odd cultures.

We may begin our study of the less obvious parts of Anglo culture by studying one type of magic practiced widely there. Actually, every culture has a type of magic. Crude and irrelevant it may seem, but it guides the people through their practical difficulties. The Yankee (or, as the ethnologist, Horace Miner called the American, to show us their bizarre ways, the n-a-c-i-r-e-m-A) seems to believe that the human body is ugly and tends to disease and debilitation. Therefore, the only hope for avoiding these fates is through powerful ritual and ceremony. For this purpose, every family has at least one shrine in its house. Its rituals are private and secret, discussed only with children, and only as an initial learning process rather than continued through late childhood. That is, shrine use training is discontinued as soon as the children have acquired the skills.

The focal point is a chest built into the wall of the small room in the house. The chest contains magical potions procured with substantial gifts. Much of its paraphernalia is designed for the mouth. The Yankees are deathly afraid of and fascinated with the mouth. Its condition is believed to affect not only the body but also sociability: "Were it not for the rituals of the mouth, they believe that their teeth would fall out, their gums bleed, their jaws shrink, their friends desert them, and their lovers reject them." For that orifice, the Anglos have a daily ritual that "consists of inserting a small bundle of hog hairs into the mouth, along with certain magical powders, and then moving the bundle in a highly formalized series of gestures" (Miner 1956:504). So appears one part of Yankeeism to a trained ethnologist. We see that if we look at any culture from a distance, its customs may appear curious and even disgusting. The Latin American (especially Venezuelan) is also amused at the Yankee emphasis on toilet functions, and particularly wonders why Yankees put the "dirty" water closet (john) near the clean bath tub (Hall 1959:130).

Yankee Ethnocentrism

Yankee ethnocentrism has been present and recorded in the United States ever since the backwoodsman in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries first ridiculed the Englishman for being intellectual. Soon, however, the New Worlder was aping British civilization. The bias persists. Recently Howe (1968:6) noted that "this notion of Anglo cultural superiority is reflected in a hundred ways, even in the comic books our children read. Batman's real name is Bruce Wayne; Superman's is Clark Kent, and his girl friend is Lois Lane. American detectives are named Nick Carter and Perry Mason and Sam Spade--all names which are either forthrightly Anglo-Saxon or intimate no other national identification." Amidst such ethnic prejudice, the white, Protestant, middle class American, is probably rarely conscious of the fact that he inhabits a group at all. He inhabits America. It is the others who live clustered in in-groups! (One is reminded of the wryly perceptive comment that the fish never discovers water /Gordon 1964:57!)

Yankee Competitiveness

The Anglo becomes oriented to competitiveness and winning at an early age. Such rivalry should not be confused with sportsmanship. It is Malthusian, a zero-sum game that vanquishes, according to Henry (1960:302). The Occidental, and especially Yankee, classroom emphasize competition in such a way as to encourage one student to work at the disadvantage of another. Anthropological observers often see the teacher encouraging hand-waving by students as soon as a student who is supposed to be reciting is stymied. Thus children learn to hope covertly for the failure of fellow students. This stands in contrast to many simpler cultures where all students are expected to learn. Many Yankees seem to favor specific, acquisitive busyness: act first, think about it afterwards. We find such evidence in many school texts used to guide the future Yankees. A study was made of all (about 30) general Yankee third grade reading books published from 1930-1946 (Child et al. 1946:2). The study measured all themes in these books, and classified them by type and by amount of reward or punishment received by the child as evidenced in the texts. It found that children were portrayed as generating much activity, while adults showed little. When the activity was exploratory, children (but not adults) were reported as having been punished. When the activity was specific, such as work, or even 'conscious' play, the children were usually rewarded. Acquisitiveness, or at least acquisition, ranked nearest, most frequent among all categories of behavior. Unless from theft, it was almost always rewarded (*ibid.*, pp. 9, 18-19).

Yet, the very instability recommended by Yankeeism creates its own problems. That culture is "notable for the conflict woven into the very fabric of its value system" (Spindler 1959:2). For example, "we believe that success is to be won by hard work, but emphasize personality and social contacts as alternative techniques." Thus Anglos will tend to look up to someone as being superior, if that person is financially or socially (rather than spiritually) successful.

Emphasis on Physicalism

Yankee belief in physical materials favors thinking in terms of materials--i.e., "substances" or "substantive thinking." This is in contrast to cultures that are interested in events, producing active, processual thinking. Since applied anthropology must be based on principles, and since these principles must be processes rather than substances, it becomes clearer why the Yankees are far ahead in outer space rocketry, and so primitive in conceptualizing solutions to social situations.

Instead, they keep thinking of substances, and belabor them. Conceptual and philosophical thoughts are rare. Their slighting of religion probably shocks such groups as the Navajos, who devote a large portion of energy there. To objectify the elements of Yankeeism, we may quantify its values and behaviors by studying its standardized patterns, namely, the beloved economic budgets.

National Expenditure Proportions

The Yankee likes to imagine that his system is universal, the only proper one. He winces at being called a Yankee, preferring some appellation like "World Citizen." In fact, however, the Yankee's culture is unique--although some would say aberrant--and unlike any ever discovered by anthropology. If a culture reflects its values and behaviors in its energy allotments, and if (as the Yankees "rationally" boast) their energies are allotted by due deliberation, and measurable by their queenly discipline of economics, then we must scan these proportionate expenditures to form our opinion of how "universal" is Yankeeism. We find such contrasts as the following in the Yankee expenditures, both public and private. (Because these figures have been gathered over a period of approximately the last five years, they are not absolutely comparable. However, a typical source of some of these figures is Strout 1968:7).

In the last 20 years, while the average factory worker's real income increased 100%, the average college professor's real income declined 5%. Higher education receives less money from all levels of government than does tobacco. Model cities receive only as much money as chewing gum. A projected Washington (D.C.) expressway will cost $23,000 for each car to use it. Grants to urban mass transit are only as much as is spent on hair dye. Ten million dollars is allocated for Teachers' Corps; 300 million dollars for costume jewelry. Quite a number of beer wholesale salesmen outearn the U. S. Senator. Food stamps for the poor receive only as many dollars as food for pets.

Brilliant in engineering and mass-distribution, the United States culture finds itself spread throughout the world. Believing much of the globe to be endangered or endangering, it has, in a mere generation, shifted its productive genius heavily toward defense militarism. But the complexity of modern warfare makes the activities of armament very expensive indeed as compared with human-welfare needs. World War II cost the Yankees ten million dollars an hour. Comparing the Yankee expenditures for such peace organizations as United Nations with those for weapons, one finds that the U. S. devotes 7,451 times as much money to war as to peace.

Because the United States is active throughout the world, approximately seventy per cent of the national budget now goes to defense. In the years 1960-67, two billion dollars was spent on community development and housing; twenty-seven billion dollars on space; 384 billion dollars on war. Again, the United Nations Children's Fund provided the vaccine to protect 226 million children from tuberculosis for just the price of two U. S. Air Force fighter-bombers. And the entire Point Four technical cooperation program in a recent year cost only as much as a single equipped Polaris submarine. The entire school lunch program, feeding 14 million children, costs only as much as 14 equipped B-52 bombers. Just one-fifth of the annual defense budget would raise all U. S. families above the minimum poverty level. The poverty program draws on only one-fifth of one per cent of the gross national product. Overall, the shift is impressive: According to Melman (1965:116-117), the per cent of federal expenditures devoted to human welfare as a portion of the entire U. S. budget has decreased from 42% in fiscal 1939 to just

7% in fiscal 1965. In public welfare expenditures as a proportion of the national income, the Yankees now rank lower than 21 Euroamerican countries--higher only than Guatemala, four Asian, and three African/Mid-Eastern countries. Here, then, is the real Yankee behavior, and not the platitudes about love of the mind. The major energy expenditures are rarely questioned.

An American Problem--The Minority Member in a Middle Class Yankee School

In such a physicalist culture, failure is often experienced by the ethnic, or sociological minority students. Is schooling the cause or the effect of failure? For a suggestive answer, we may study the report on seven hundred tenth grade boys in a large Western city in 1959. It showed that the number of delinquency referrals (approximately equal to offenses) decreased after the dropout left school:

Socio-economic Status	Before dropout	After dropout
Lower class	65	35
Higher class	40	24
Average	61	31

In other words, offense comes not from violating the middle class norm of schooling. It may result from the frustration and failure experienced in a middle class Yankee school whose norms do not fit those of the minority (whether cultural, economic, or otherwise). The many voices that suggest that the student who is unhappy in school should stay in school may be quite wrong, as shown by the evidence in this case! Perhaps the school rather than the student should change (Elliott 1966:313). /Of course, other factors may be concomitant. For example, the dropout can earn immediate income, thereby reducing immediate economic pressures.7

In planning school readjustment to minorities, a major need will be to consider problems at the cultural level rather than merely, as is the Yankee tradition, at the individualistic level. But evidence mounts that, as this report continues to show, Anglo society favors the solving problems at the atomistic instead of at the sociocultural level. Documentation of this favoritism toward the individual science of psychology, rather than the social sciences of sociology and anthropology, appears in the latest U. S. manpower report, referred to elsewhere, which shows 19,027 psychologists, 3,640 sociologists, and only 919 anthropologists (U.S.A. National Science Foundation 1968:1). Individualism perpetuates itself!

We are thus forced to the realization that, in applied social science, the underdeveloped society is the U. S. A. Indeed, some cultural historians compare the present period, in which Yankee influence is (momentarily at least) on the wane, to the situation in which the Roman Empire changed in the amount of influence it radiated. Accordingly, the "Barbarians" on its borders would change their names--"going Roman" when the empire was self-confident, and changing their names to German when the empire was in trouble (Toynbee 1946:I-463-464).

Schooling reflects culture. In the New World, for the present at least, both are in jeopardy. In finally delineating some cultural patterns of the Yankees, we have tried to complete the picture. The manual has thus attempted to offer a codification of education and culture, and some suggestions for harnessing each factor on behalf of the other. But it is up to the reader whether he will carry them into effect.

CHAPTER XXXII

RECAPITULATION

Let us now review the argument and types of facts offered so that anthropology may be applied to education. The need for the application of the cultural science to education obviously exists, but the want, or perception of need, is just beginning to appear. Furthermore, the material and personnel capable of applying anthropology to education are just emerging. The present manual represents Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory's contribution in that regard.

Fairly recent measurements find that Anglo teachers are not, in general, sensitive to the sociocultural differences of ethnic groups. They tend to assume a uniformity of middle class Anglo values. The entire Anglo culture is overelaborated in the nonlife, biological and individualistically psychological sciences at the expense of the social sciences. Approximately 97 per cent of research resources go to the former. The existing codifications of anthropology and education are almost barren in applied educational ethnology.

Yet, as we study why high percentages of ethnic minorities do poorly in school as compared with middle class Anglos, we are forced to conclude that it is a problem of ethnic difference. It cannot adequately be attacked as the problem of individualism--why Dick succeeds while James fails. This question surpasses mere learning theory at the level of psychology, and involves cultural change--acculturation, at the level of anthropology. Therefore, applied anthropology both analyses theory and tries to direct the theory to application. It barely begins to give prescriptions, but at least offers a number of hypotheses that readers may test.

This manual is based on the review of approximately 1,000 publications on directed culture change, 400 on the description (ethnography) of Southwestern cultures, and another 400 on directed educational change. Personal observations, inspections of some three dozen Southwestern ethnic-populated schools (Laboratory activities in many of them), teaching innovational acceptability for 14 semesters at City University of New York, and 123 applied social science projects over some 20 years, have also gone into the author's development of this manual. The time is ripe for a subdiscipline of applied educational ethnology. For the application of cultural anthropology to education the term is here proposed of "ethno-pedagogy."

Psychological processes are valid in many, perhaps all, cultures. However, the materials, channels, institutions, "switchboards," through which they may be expressed differ greatly from culture to culture. Consequently, psychology is incomplete, although not erroneous, in solving ethnic problems, such as face the crosscultural teaching situation. Particularly inadequate is the school of psychology called behaviorism which de-emphasizes the very patterns that distinguish ethnic strategies while publicizing merely obvious behaviors. Concepts such as reward and learning differ from one society to the next. Consequently, a mere stimulus-response system which may be adequate within an Anglo school system when taught by an Anglo teacher to an Anglo student, may be quite inadequate when the same system broadens to Hispanics or Amerindians. It is not to be rejected so much as greatly enriched with inventories of ethnic differences.

Even the ways in which a culture cognizes the world differ: The rainbow is perceived as having half a dozen colors to the Yankee, but only two to the Liberian Bassa. Lines are cognized as straighter by the modern Western world, more curved by many other cultures.

Educationists must accredit these different cognitions in defining "intelligence." Intelligence must be redefined as the ability to adapt, and each ethnic group has a different adaptation niche. Thus, there can, by definition, not be an intelligence test that is fair to all ethnicities. The criteria against which responses are adjudged are those that the testing culture determines are correct; there can be no absolute. Consequently, an I.Q. test by definition must discriminate in favor of the ethnic group that designs it.

The original values of a society are determined partly by environment, partly by historical accident. They become established, and, unless the patterns are clearly self-destructive, tend to perpetuate themselves. Indeed, future problems faced by a given society are mandated to the patterns already developed ("secondary acculturation," or "haoleization"). These sectors tend to become integrated with the passage of time. Consequently, each culture becomes complete and reasonably harmonious. To brand the members of a society as suffering "cultural deprivation" would betray an ignorance of the cultural science, and suggests that the speaker is trying to justify his own society's imposing its system on another by implying that the ethnic minority is really boorish. Instead, it is the dominant culture whose citizens thereby show themselves to be what are here called "culturamuses."

If all sectors of a culture are fairly integrated, then education includes both informal and formal education; it is "enculturation." And enculturating the young is considered a crucial task of, a great value in, every culture. The enculturative pattern reveals the nature of the overall society. Global studies of babies both human and subhuman suggest the importance of play and of emotion. But there are vast differences from one society to the next in such matters as competitiveness, gentleness, exploration, etc. Primitive cultures tend to correlate life with education more than do complex cultures, which often separate the two so that its child does not perceive the need for what he is being taught. It is easier to motivate the primitive child than the complex-culture child, because the former sees the utility of what he is learning. His teacher tends to know his subject more closely, and from more empirical work, than does the teacher in a complex society. The primitive child tends to be more curious about methods than about reasons. In the 'underdeveloped' society, narrow institutions, such as specific school buildings, are rare. Instead, there is usually a publicly accepted sequence of learning achievement, with liberal rewards given to even the simplest accomplishments such as the shooting of a tiny, slow bird. Supernatural magic may be relied on to keep the child doing what the culture wishes him to do.

There are often, but not necessarily, "cultural compressions" in which, at a certain time of life, often puberty, the child is required to face a radical change in his regulations. Much education is performed in the simpler society through ceremonials, which combine cognition, affect, and psychomotion.

Each culture probably restricts certain information to certain classes. Thus, the revelation of certain ceremonies may be reserved for all adults, or even for elite adults. In complex societies, such as the United States, we similarly find that certain basic social problems, such as interracial relations, are not even discussed in many a formal curriculum. *But each culture believes that its system is the best*, and tries to inculcate that belief. It methodically depreciates its neighbors in cognitive dissonance.

If a single culture thoroughly develops and integrates the factors of its ethnic patterns, then these will tend to become different from those of other cultures. Consequently, when two cultures come together, as by students of one ethnic minority attending the school system of the other, all sorts of combinations and conflicts are possible, and, indeed, usually occur. There is no one sure outcome. There may for example, be polyethnicity--the coexistence of two or more cultures. Or, at the extreme, there may be suppression of one by the other. In general, the dominant culture tends, whether or not consciously, to implant its patterns onto the minorities.

However, another pattern is possible and recommended. This is *syncretism*, the mutual compromise of ethnic patterns. In such a system, one pattern may be used for one sector of life, while another pattern is used for another. For example, the Anglo system may be used for teaching mathematics, whereas the Hispanic system may be used for art. And a society need not elaborate a single ethnic pattern in order to survive. Many thriving cultures, such as within Switzerland, are historically observable in pluralism and syncretism.

A principal cultural trait of Yankee society is industrialism. This is the specialization of organization, usually with machinery, related to mass production, mechanization, and so on. Industrialism befits democracy by emphasizing similarities and large-scale output. As industrialism grows, however, there occurs a separation between decision, enactment, and enjoyment.

In the case of the United States, industrialism began in the economic and instrumental sector such as mass production of artifacts. But it has tended to diffuse to social areas. Efficiency expertness has spread from the factory to the school. Since the early 1900's, educational establishments have been reconceptualized as factories in which the raw products--children--were to be shaped into conventional citizens. Students were to be imprinted at various stations (classrooms), converted as is iron to steel.

In such a homogeneous situation, special hardship is based on the ethnic minorities, for they tend to be forced into the Anglo mold. There is less damage to the Anglo middle class child who is being conventionalized into the Anglo middle class image that is the school system. One parallel is industrial handling. Our manual photographically shows (in Figure 1) how students are mass produced in a "quality control" station (final examination). Such industrialization (as opposed, say, to small group cooperation) has befitted one type of assimilative philosophy, that of the melting pot. Yet, reality differs from belief, for the history of the United States has boasted several different goal systems concerning assimilation. The best known is the aforementioned 'melt.' It proposed a biological and cultural merger of the Anglo-Saxons with other immigrant groups to produce a new, single, native American type. A variant of melting pot is "Anglo-conformity." In it, the melt was not to produce a new type of American, but to reproduce the Anglo-Saxon portion alone. By contrast, cultural pluralism or polyethnicity favors the preservation of communal life and significant portions of each immigrant group.

While the melting pot philosophy has most been propagandized, history seems to show in fact that Anglo-conformity has been the trend until recently. Certain sectors of life such as the economic permitted interchange between ethnic groups; yet social life in particular favored their separate existence. In the "power structure," it was the Anglo culture that was dominant. The United States consistently failed to accept the reality of different cultures within its national boundaries.

Perhaps as a reaction, and due to other complicated factors, there is presently developing a trend toward cultural pluralism and perhaps even ethnic separatism. In such a situation, there would be little interchange between the ethnicities. The present manual works on the assumption that cultural pluralism will gradually emerge in moderation.

This is a sort of syncretism. It fits the finding from animal-species life, called Gause's Principle, that each group must specialize in order to remain competitive, and thus can cooperate profitably with the other groups. Applied to education, poly-ethnicity would justify the teaching of some common and some specialized cultural skills to each ethnic group. They then have some elements of intercommunication, and yet some skills required for the maintenance of their own and the larger group.

What, then, are the variables that differ from one society to the next? There are many ways to classify them. Cultures differ in cognition, affect, and psychomotion. They differ in "value orientations"--the relation of man to nature, time, space, social relations, the concept of causation, and goodness of human nature. Each is discussed and formulated in turn.

Northern European cultures, especially Anglo culture, emphasize cognition--the intellectual aspect of life--at the expense of affect (compare emotion) and psychomotion (compare motor skills). By contrast, folk society tends to integrate the three domains of personality. Consequently, suggestions are offered whereby a teacher can convert cognitive data into presentations using the other aspects, such as paintings, drama, etc.

A crucial ethnic variable is communication. Obviously, many cultures differ in their languages. More subtly, they differ in the proportion of the senses that they utilize. Thus, Anglo culture tends to emphasize the sense of vision, and to minimize the sense of smell. The proportion for any given culture has been called a "sensotype."

Cultures differ greatly in their attitudes toward time. An agricultural community tends to slight it, since nature's cycle is regulated quite outside of the control of man. By contrast, an industrial or other complex culture tends to make time a "commodity," emphasizing the value of speed even in the schoolroom and on the I.Q. test. Ways are suggested whereby the person from the more rigidly timed society and the more casually timed societies can adapt to one another.

Distance is also unconsciously patterned by each society. Intimate distance (used for lovemaking, etc.) gives way to personal distance. Next comes social distance, at which there is conducted one's impersonal business, such as casual social gatherings. Finally, there is public distance, at which a speaker may operate in separation from his audience. Each of these measurements probably varies from society to society. Consequently, it affects such schoolroom problems as seating, shower room privacy, elevators, etc. Ways are suggested to alter either the actual distance or the perception of distance by such methods as varying of illumination.

Social organization is another crucial ethnic variable. Kinship tends to be far more important in non-Anglo cultures; consequently the school child of an ethnic minority can often be contented by being associated with his kin. In contrast, the Anglo system fellowships persons who are merely intellectually or chronologically his equals.

Attitudes toward the goodness of human nature, or ethics, also vary from society to society. Thus, a culture may laugh only at lapses in morals, being good natured toward another person's deficiencies in knowledge. Physical punishment will vary with the emphasis placed on the soul. Even such ethical differences, however, can be maneuvered by the perceptive teacher, depending on how she argues the child's ethical boundaries.

Some cultures believe more than others that they control their environments. The Occidental societies seem to feel more than primitives that they can change nature. But only a few societies, such as the Communist world, seem to believe that they control both subhuman and human nature. This sense of causality affects the way that teaching should be conducted. Thus, there is diversity among cultures in the amounts of demonstration, logic, and magic in the ideal teaching "mix." However, even the slighting of environmental control, fatalism, need not make the child fatalistic. The teacher can reconceptualize that philosophy as determinism. She can argue that each institution and artifact in the society has its own perfect nature. Thus, instead of fatalism demanding that a certain crop wither whenever nature wills it, the teacher can argue in a practical chemistry class that determinism also requires the same crop to flourish when a particular chemical fertilizer is applied!

The school's unlimited power to modify the person, and thus the social order, is a belief peculiar to democracies. Anthropology, instead, argues that school is an instrument of society, and can best succeed when it fits the broad patterns of society. For example, by conducting education in the child's home language, the school can capitalize on a device offering great emotional support and interest to the child. Yet, the school systems have rarely applied behavioral science. Indeed, only since 1965 has there been a system of educational laboratories; even today, its 1,000 man staff includes only one representative of the cultural science.

The educational variables are rostered to show the variety of factors that may be maneuvered in the schoolroom. For example, there are the several stages of growth of the child ("ontogeny"). There are age-grade differences. Cultures vary the types of institution that perform education, with some spreading the educational responsibility onto many kin, and others, especially the complex, establishing a profession of educators. Sex roles differ greatly from one society to the other, so that the youngster may have an entirely different expectation of passivity from the adult. Class differences also are rife: Teachers tend to come from the Anglo middle class, whereas the children they teach tend numerically to be from the lower classes, and, in the Southwest, importantly from non-Anglo groups. The school must, then, basically be considered as a device for perpetuating existing differences among classes and ranks, and cannot naively be considered a radical means for "reforming" the larger culture.

Now the manual turns to adapting the elements of education cross-culturally. It discusses four of the maneuverable but rarely maneuvered sectors: the sociological environment, teaching methods, curricular subjects, and subject examples.

Research is cited that shows that enrichment of subject matter alone does not make schools equal. Instead, the sociological environment, the reference groups, are important in determining student aspirations and values. A few pioneer ethnic schools are selecting parents as models for schoolroom, even as dormitory parents, in order to extend their values through the student body.

Teaching methods can also vary greatly. Typical of the Yankee's emphasis on individualism is the Dalton Plan, which replaces classroom teaching with individual study. It is now being refurbished as Individually Prescribed Instruction. By contrast, the method used in many other cultures (and in some recent U. S. situations) is cooperation between individual students--team learning--often with some little rivalry between groups rather than between individuals. Methods are here suggested for adapting from one system to the other; for example, the use of non-oral devices such as writing minimizes the feeling that one student is outshining another.

Even the subjects of the curriculum vary from culture to culture. Non-Anglo societies tend to teach more affect, such as religion and the arts. Since each ethnicity has its own history and contributions, a poly-ethnic school could adapt them into its curriculum.

The examples used to teach subjects can also be varied. Thus, mathematics can be taught by means of examples from economics--the tendency in the United States--or by means of astrology. A method is outlined whereby the teacher would emphasize the artifacts and principles of the native culture. She would gradually lead by this familiar material to the artifacts and subjects of the dominant culture. This process is termed "ethno-maieutics."

As a further channeling of these principles to real-life, the manual sketches half a dozen cultures important in the Southwest United States and suggests specific input areas.

The Hispanic, or Mexican American, culture (for whose nonhomogeneous parts many other terms could be applied) emphasizes traditionalism, familism, dramatism, personalism, and fatalism. Everyone of these and related culture traits can be accommodated by a non-Hispanic school system. For example, religious emphasis can be utilized in biology class to make glorious the discussion of bodily operations that traditional parents might otherwise censor as disgusting. And the Hispanic emphasis on early responsibility, so common in rural areas, can be utilized to make one child responsible for tutoring another. The stress on masculinity can be utilized to make the boy obey his (female) teacher--as a representative of the male superintendency. Affect may be increased by dramatic representations of cognitive school subjects.

Following that applicability analysis of Mexican Americans, we similarly consider the culture of United States Negroes. When they were shanghaied from throughout Africa, both their cultures and their families were atomized. Those episodes still have deleterious effects in discouraging solidarity for such purposes as beginning business enterprises and supporting school reforms. The stability of the Negro family has tended to be preempted by women rather than by men. Boys often lack an authoritative model of manhood. Yet, the system perpetuates itself, and cannot be called "culturally deprived." The language of even lower class Negroes is rich. Pride in Negro ethnic heritage can readily be instilled by emphasizing Negro history and accomplishments, particularly in the affective and psychomotoric domains.

Now, the applicability analysis turns to American Indians. Those groups today probably suffer the U. S. A.'s greatest shortfalls in the material phases of life, such as employment, dollar income, etc. Yet they, too, have enjoyed a rich cultural heritage, and should not be considered as 'lacking in culture.' The Amerindian is traditionally taught to attend very carefully to his environment. This talent is slighted by the purely cognitive words that the Anglo teacher tends to value. The Indian is taught the tradition of cooperativeness, and will not excel at the expense of other students or families. He tends to be interested in local problems ("parochialism") rather than in broader theory. He tends to be tolerant, and is amazed at the Anglo insistence on lockstep. He tends to be a craftsman rather than a mass producer. (To exemplify such skills, we reproduce in three colors, as Figure 3, an original piece of Amerindian student art.) Suggestions are therefore given for reorienting the Anglo emphasis on rugged individualism to the Amerindian system. As an example, even computer-assisted instruction could be rearranged for cooperative response. It need not inherently require the fractionation of personality (cognition versus affect) and of group (student versus student) that Yankeeism grandly attributes to mankind.

Because the Navajos are the United States' largest Amerindian group, further attention is paid to them. Their values, history, and family system, are detailed, together with scholastic adaptation techniques. A similarly substantive chapter details the situation among the Pueblo Amerindians.

Everywhere we see an emphasis on peaceable solutions to problems, discussion until unanimity is reached. Surely these are marks of cultural peoples, and help further to remind us that onlooking Anglos need feel no mission for 'civilizing deprived cultures.'

There follows a chapter discussing some of the traits of the Yankees, a group presumably so well known to the reader that we must adopt the viewpoint of a visiting ethnographer to provide less-familiar insights. The Anglo system favors attacking problems at the individualistic level rather than at the sociological or cultural level. Although claiming to be scientific, Anglos are seen as favoring interest in magic in many ways, such as buying materials like cosmetics that guarantee 'immaterials' like love. Yankeeism elaborates competitiveness, acquisitiveness, and busyness, even at the expense of thought. It stresses physical values, producing interest in substances rather than in processes. Consequently, Anglos are fascinated by materials. They little perceive the applicability of certain social science processes from one culture to another.

Because of the Yankees' present world stance, a vast amount of their energy is expended in defense activities. Several dozen related examples are given to show the large proportion of energy being devoted to physical activities, and the small fraction to education and other social welfare. The very genius that the United States has developed for mass-producing materials turns to liability and counterattack when applied to the mass production of a single set of ethnic patterns in a (student) population representing many. Noninstrumental, non-Anglo minorities are bewitched by the material affluence tantalizingly near. But they may be unwilling or unable to follow the Yankee patterns (especially school emphases) necessary to attain it. They may want effect without means, substance without process. A possible solution is the mutual reconciliation, or syncretism, of impacting patterns, so that each ethnicity specializes and yet intercommunicates.

Thus, this manual has attempted to show both the principles whereby any culture is formed, and whereby certain cultures (in the Southwestern United States) have solidified to value peculiar behaviors. It also outlines strategies and tactics for changing a culture, as when two societies meet in inter-ethnic schooling. In performing such applied anthropology, however, the practitioner must obey certain moral rules that are both obvious and specified by the Code of Ethics (Society for Applied Anthropology 1963-64:237). He must not reveal confidences, such as a native informant's blurts. But at the same time he must make his (nondestructive) findings public.

Thus, applied educational ethnology presents a paradox: Education is an integral part of culture, and cannot be expected to reform the world by itself. At the same time, many, perhaps most, of the very factors of education that are normally considered fixed, can in fact be maneuvered--teaching methods, curricular subjects, subject examples, etc.

Herein is offered the beginning of a system: cross-cultural educational methods, or "ethno-pedagogy." Intended both as a textbook and as a reference book, this manual includes citations from approximately 170 publications, including cross references to the chapter in which each is quoted. A several-hundred item alphabetical index further makes it easy for the reader to use this reference book over a long period of time. When specific problems arise, he may find suggested approaches to them. However, it is not intended to be _merely_ a "passive," historical-only, book that may be laid in file with a sigh. Rather, like any engineering or applied subject, this text is intended to be tested by the reader, and feedback is desired so that the principles may be refined. The channel for integrating and disseminating such information already exists: a current annotated bibliography on ethnic education (Burger 1967b--). For the growing problem of cross-cultural education, then, we offer, for the reader's contributions, a codification for what is developing into a new sub-discipline--"ethno-pedagogy."

CHAPTER XXXIII

REFERENCES, AND WHERE CITED

Where a publication shows several dates below, the page number(s) cited refer to the later date.

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* An asterisk means that the publisher is (Albuquerque, New Mexico, U. S. A.,) Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory. Single copies (or, in the case of periodicals, single subscriptions) are free from the publisher on request by appropriate scientists and educators.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

INDEX

Because ethnic descriptions vary from place to place and time to time, this index slights group-names, and emphasizes processes. For the many authors whose works are cited in this manual, see the preceding bibliography chapter. It also tells the places in this manual that cite each work.

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